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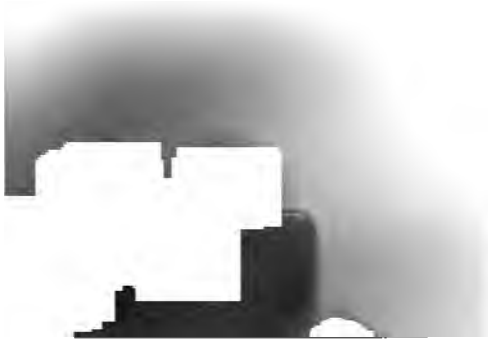

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THE MIDDLE AGES

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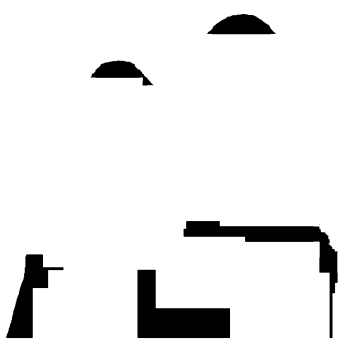

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THE MIDDLE AGES

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BY

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PREFACE

This volume is planned to follow one on Roman history which will carry the story of Rome through the career of Justinian, whose ambition it was to have one state, one church, one law. It is to be followed by a volume on the period of the renaissance and reformation. Its position in the series has determined its scope and the inclusion or exclusion of topics which more logically will find a place in the volume which precedes or the one which follows.

The bibliographies for the separate chapters have been made as short as possible. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* is so excellent that it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to make complete bibliographies again. Consequently, only a few books have been selected, and each one, because it contains some matter necessary to supplement the discussion in this volume.

I am indebted to Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, the general editor of the series, for reading all the manuscript and making many suggestions for improvements. Several of my former students have helped me; in particular, Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, who prepared the maps, bibliographies, and index; Willy Jahr, Ph.D., who read some of the earlier chapters; Professor Frederick Duncalf of the University of Texas, who has helped me in reading proof; these and others I wish to thank. Any mistakes in the book I am responsible for; the number would have been greater except for the generous assistance which I have received. Lastly, I am much indebted to my wife and three daughters for frequent criticism and aid.

WAQUOIT, MASS.
Aug. 13–1921.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

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THE MIDDLE AGES

THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN WORLD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS

WHEN the emperor Theodosius died, in A.D. 395, the Roman Empire extended from the Euphrates and the Arabian desert on the east to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, from the Rhine and the Danube on the north to the Sahara on the south. Egypt and Britain, too, were Roman territory. Expressed in modern geographical terms, the Empire included about half of what is now Asiatic Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the whole northern coast of Africa, Spain and Portugal, France, Belgium, all of Germany and of the Netherlands which lies south and west of the Rhine, England, Wales, Switzerland, Italy, part of southern Germany, most of German Austria, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey in Europe, Greece, Albania, and the islands of the Mediterranean. This summary is not exact, but it may serve to make more definite to us the extent of the Empire on the eve of the barbarian invasions.

Extent of Empire

The Romans ruled all the fertile lands about the Mediterranean. In fact, only a comparatively small part of the Roman Empire lay outside of the Mediterranean basin. Consequently, a description of this basin brings out some of the most important characteristics of the Roman territory: "Its shores include about three million square miles of the richest country on the earth's surface, enjoying a climate where the extremes of temperature are unknown, and with every variety of scenery, but chiefly consisting of mountains and elevated plateaus. It is a well-defined region of many parts, all intimately connected with each other by their geographical character, their geological formation, their flora, fauna, and the physiognomy of the people who inhabit them." These facts had undoubtedly made it more easy for Rome to establish and maintain its dominion.

Mediterranean Basin

The Romans considered themselves the only civilized people and thought of all outside the Empire as barbarians. As a matter of

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Other Civilizations

fact, civilization flourished in Persia under the Sassanids (c. 226–641 A.D.), in China and in India. In each of these countries literature, arts, and knowledge in general had reached a relatively high stage, and from Persia, and India later, the Arabs were to derive much of their remarkable culture. But with these exceptions the Roman conception was true; civilization was confined to the Roman Empire.

One Empire

Throughout this whole territory the emperor's authority was absolute. When there were two emperors they ruled conjointly and the Empire remained intact. The terms Eastern and Western Empires are misleading; there was but one Roman Empire; this is true both in theory and in fact, at least until the year 800. Consequently men unconsciously thought of themselves as citizens of the Roman Empire, which embraced practically all Christian peoples. This idea of the Roman unity was one of the strongest cohesive forces during the troubled centuries of German invasion.

Position of Emperor

The power of the emperor extended to every department of the government. As commander-in-chief, he made war or peace on his own initiative, raised as many soldiers as he chose, and appointed officers. Through his tribunician power he had the right to initiate legislation or to veto any proposal, and his person was sacred and inviolable. Through his proconsular authority he governed all the provinces. As censor he nominated senators or other dignitaries and degraded them at will. He levied the taxes and fixed their amount; he had the uncontrolled management of all finances. He possessed the right of eminent domain in condemning land for public uses. He was the supreme judge and the court of last appeal and had the power of life and death over every citizen. It was an accepted maxim that "the will of the emperor has the force and effect of law, since the Roman people by law have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty."

Administrative Divisions

For administrative purposes the Empire was divided into four great sections, known respectively as the prefectures of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of the Gauls. Each one was ruled by an official, called the prefect, who was directly responsible to the emperor. The only portions of the Empire not included in the four prefectures were the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, each of which was administered by a prefect of its own. The four prefectures were subdivided into dioceses; e. g., the prefecture of the Gauls included the diocese of the Spains, of the Seven Provinces (i. e., Gaul proper), and of the Britains. At the head of each diocese was a vicar, who was under the control of the prefect. Each diocese was subdivided into provinces; e. g., there

were five provinces in the diocese of the Britains. The administration of each province was intrusted to an official who was usually styled either the consular or the president, and was responsible to the vicar. Thus the whole administration was centralized.

Roads were well built and carefully maintained, making travel easy throughout the Empire. Uniform coinage and uniform weights and measures facilitated trade. The ablest and wealthiest men from every section were drawn into the imperial service and eagerly sought office. This was in decided contrast to their unwillingness to hold the local offices, which will be described later. All took pride in being Romans; former differences in laws, customs, and dress had disappeared in Roman unity. This had not been due to any coercion by the central government, but to the desire of the people themselves; for Roman citizenship in the beginning had conferred great advantages.

Unity

Latin was the official language in the West, but Greek was commonly spoken in that part of the Empire east of the Adriatic, and even governmental inscriptions were in Greek. Rome herself had in an intellectual and artistic sense been conquered by this Greek civilization of her subjects and had transmitted it to the less cultured peoples of the West as she forced them under the domination of the Roman peace. Accordingly, in the West the Roman civilization had been adopted eagerly and the Latin tongue, the vehicle of this culture, had displaced all the native idioms; but in the East Greek maintained its sway even in administrative matters. Thus there was a difference between the two sections of the Empire which made an eventual separation more easy.

The Two Languages

The higher administrative divisions which have been described were wholly artificial, erected merely for the convenience of the central government. The real natural unit throughout most of the Empire was the *civitas* — a term which is sometimes very inadequately translated as city-state. The *civitas* was an urban center of government with the territory subject to its authority. In the eastern countries the *civitas* or city-state existed before these lands were conquered by Rome, and usually retained its identity under the Roman rule. The Romans found this form of organization convenient and useful, and consequently made use of it. After the conquest of Gaul, that province was organized along the same general lines. Thus a Gallic tribe with its territory became a *civitas,* and the home of the chieftain the urban center whence the whole territory was governed. Some *civitates,* e. g., Poitiers, had a territory as large as two or three of the modern French *départements;* others, e. g., Boulogne, were smaller

Civitas

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than a single *département*. At the beginning of the fifth century there were one hundred and fourteen *civitates* in all Gaul.[1] For administrative purposes the whole country was parceled out among these *civitates* and consequently a *civitas* would usually include one or more towns, an indefinite number of rural estates with their villages, forests and waste lands. A *civitas* administered its own affairs to a very considerable extent, although from the second century onward there was a growing tendency for the central administration to interfere in the local government. Many duties, however, continued to devolve upon the officials of these small divisions.

Villa

The other local unit of importance in this connection was the *villa*, which was the country estate of a noble. There were probably many of these in each *civitas*. Often such an estate included an extensive tract of land, as in the fourth century one which comprised about fifteen hundred acres was described as rather small. They usually contained cultivated lands, meadows, vineyards, and woods. It was the ambition of the noble to produce on his own property all that was necessary for the life of its inhabitants. These included farm-laborers, shepherds, vine-dressers, bakers, millers, carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, and other workmen, as well as tenants of various grades of dependence. By the end of the fourth century there was usually a chapel with its priest on each *villa*. Justice was administered in many cases by the owner. Thus the estate formed an almost self-sufficing unit and did not need to have many connections with the outside world. Much of the life of the fifth century was shaped by the character of the *villa*.

Senators

The owners were usually senators. But this did not mean necessarily that they were members either of the senate that sat at Rome or of the newly-formed senate at Constantinople. The senatorial nobility at the beginning of the fifth century included many persons in all parts of the Empire who seldom, if ever, visited Rome or Constantinople. The rank of senator had become merely a title of nobility which might be conferred upon any wealthy person by the emperor. The dignity was eagerly coveted, as it conferred not merely prestige but also substantial immunities for which candidates were willing to pay; consequently almost all very wealthy men were senators. They possessed most of the land, and from their number were drawn many of the higher imperial officials. When not holding office the nobility preferred to live in the country on their estates during most, if not all, of the

[1] In modern France, with a territory much smaller than Ancient Gaul, there are 87 *départements*.

year. They disliked city life, partly because of a very rigid etiquette which compelled them when they were in the city to spend much of their time in social formalities. Their letters show that it was frequently the freedom of the country life which attracted them. Moreover, their estates demanded constant supervision.

The home of a noble was somewhat similar to a large country residence of the present day, especially to the house of an English noble. Frequently there were picture galleries, libraries, spacious dining-halls, and formal gardens adorned with statues. The habits of the Romans led them to furnish special apartments for summer and winter respectively, and to build elaborate baths. These sumptuous residences were very common in many parts of the Empire. The letters of Apollinaris Sidonius (430–487 A.D.) are full of details concerning the way in which these country gentlemen spent their days. In one letter he describes a week's visit with some friends. In the morning some played tennis or backgammon, while others read religious books or the Roman classics. The noonday meal was comparatively light and was enlivened by many stories. Next they took a siesta, followed by horseback riding and several hours spent in the bath, while they engaged in pleasant and witty talk. The day ended with a luxurious and protracted supper. Sidonius intimates that this was rather an unusual week for him and had left him without any appetite. On another occasion he describes setting out on a journey into the country. He traveled in the cool of the morning, composing verses as he rode or walked. After four or five hours, during which the party had gone about eighteen miles, they pitched a tent for the noonday rest. Other passages in his letters show the pleasure taken by the nobles in games, hunting, reading, and telling anecdotes. Yet it should not be forgotten that Sidonius and the friends whose life he describes held high offices in the church or in the state, and managed large properties, and therefore could not have spent all their time in this leisurely manner.

Life of Nobles

Aside from the master's family the population of the *villa* was divided into two great classes, slaves and laborers, usually *coloni*. The slaves included the household servants, who were very numerous, and those agricultural laborers who worked on that portion of the *villa* cultivated by the master in person. The position of the agricultural slaves had been greatly improved in the centuries immediately preceding. The masters had generally ceased to use the underground prisons in which the slaves had formerly been confined at night. A master no longer had a legal right to kill his slave at his own pleasure. In order to get more work out of the laborers the owner frequently assigned to certain of them

Slaves

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plots of land and separate huts. For the sake of raising taxes more easily the government had caused these "hut-slaves" to be enrolled on the tax-register, and thenceforward land could not be sold without the hut-slaves who belonged upon it. But, while their position had been improved materially, they were still slaves and could not legally accumulate any property of their own. It was only by slow changes that they rose to a position which approached at all in equality to that of the *coloni*.

The latter formed the bulk of the agricultural population of the *villas*. They were a class of hereditary farmers who had certain rights over the land, which they cultivated but did not actually own. They were obliged to pay a rent in money or kind to the proprietor. Moreover, they could not leave their farms. The law forbade them to become artisans, priests, or monks. If a *colonus* fled from his land, he was brought back by force and might be reduced to slavery. If the land was sold he went with it. He had a master, the owner of the estate, to whom he owed obedience. In other respects he was free, and the law, while speaking of him as his master's *man*, carefully distinguished him from a slave. He could own personal property, contract a legal marriage and bring suit at law, and his children might inherit his property.

Coloni

Origin of Coloni

The *coloni* had come from several different classes. Some, although probably not the most numerous class, had been German barbarians subdued or captured in war. At times whole tribes had been brought into the Empire. These had been distributed as *coloni* or agricultural laborers, not slaves, among the landed proprietors. Each one had been assigned to some piece of land and had been enrolled upon the state register. Thenceforth he and his descendants were attached to the land. It is probable that the position of these *coloni* was influential in fixing the legal status of all classes of *coloni*. Others had been freedmen who had had plots of land assigned to them by their lord and had thus become *coloni;* as freedmen they had had a master, and the change in their lot consisted merely in fixing them and their descendants upon a given piece of land. Others had been free farmers, owning their farms, who had been compelled by poverty or the encroachment of wealthy neighbors to sell or deed away their lands, and while remaining upon and still cultivating them to sink to the class of *coloni*. Still others had been free laborers who had come to settle upon the estate of the noble and had remained, giving their services in return for the land which they farmed. However much they differed in origin, all had become, in the eyes of the law, *coloni*.

Almost the only landholders who had small properties were the

curiales. These, who were also called *decuriones,* ranked next below the senators and formed the governing body in the *civitas.* They, with the officials elected from their number, had control over all the local activities which were not carried on by the central government. They passed statutes, they kept up the streets and roads, they had charge of some of the police functions, they apportioned and collected the taxes. They formed a court of appeal for some classes of cases. They possessed immunity from torture and from certain kinds of legal penalties. They had places of honor at the festivals and games. They alone could hold municipal offices.

Curiales

In the early days of the Empire the position of *curial* and election to office had been eagerly sought. But at the beginning of the fifth century both had become burdensome. Every citizen who possessed sufficient wealth was obliged to be a *curial,* unless he was able to be a senator, or had already escaped into the church, the army, or the imperial service. The son of a *decurion* became a *decurion* at eighteen years of age. The members of the *curia,* the governing body in each *civitas,* watched anxiously lest any one who was qualified might escape. This was because their duties were onerous and they had to bear such great expenses; in particular, if they were unable to collect the taxes levied by the emperors, they had to pay them out of their own fortunes. The offices in the *civitas* were without salary, entailed heavy expenses, and could not be declined. The law declared: "If a man designated for office has fled, he shall be sought. If he is not found, his property shall be confiscated and given to the one who serves in his place. If he is found his punishment shall consist in bearing the weight of the office for two years."

Burdens of Curiales

The *curiales* frequently tried to escape, but the Roman government made every possible effort to prevent this. They were not allowed to leave the cities and reside in the country, lest they should get away. Their sons were not allowed to enter the army, the church, or the imperial service. There appear to have been only two legal methods of escape from the position of *curial.* At the end of a long term of years, after a man had held all the offices, if he was sufficiently wealthy, he might buy admission into the ranks of the senatorial nobility; but even this was sometimes forbidden. The second mode of escape was granted by a law of the Emperor Julian (363 A.D.): "He who is the father of thirteen children not only shall not be summoned to the *curia,* but, even though he be a *decurion,* shall be left in an honored rest." But these exceptions had little effect, and, in spite of every effort to retain them, many of the sorely-burdened officials

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did finally escape. A law of 458 A.D. states: "We must consider the *curiae*, which the ancients rightly called 'little senates,' as the souls of the cities and the sinews of the republic. Nevertheless, they have been so oppressed by the injustice of the magistrates and by the venality of the tax-gatherers, that most of their members have resigned their offices, expatriated themselves, and sought an obscure asylum in some distant province." The testimony of Salvian (430 A.D.) is to the same effect—that Romans preferred to live in freedom among the barbarians, rather than as slaves among the Romans.

Plebs

The great mass of free citizens, the *plebs*, lived in the towns or cities and were engaged in industry or commerce. Manufacturing and trading had developed greatly in the first two centuries of the Empire. The "Roman peace," the ease and safety of traveling, and the fostering care of the emperors made these pursuits attractive and honorable. The merchants or the craftsmen in the same trade formed a "college," or gild, which was recognized and protected by laws. Each college had its banner, festival, and banquets. The members were exempt from military service and various other burdens; and the chief officials were sometimes ennobled after completing their terms of office. In the early years nobles had been proud to be elected as patrons of such organizations.

Burdens of Plebs

In the later days of the Empire the members of the colleges were bound hard and fast to their calling. The state found it necessary to compel each man to stick to his occupation. With the decline of general prosperity and the massing of wealth in a comparatively small number of hands, trade and industry had become much less profitable. This was due in part to the policy of the nobles in making their estates self-supporting, so that the latter furnished no markets to the workers in cities. The services of many of the colleges, especially of those which were engaged in preparing and transporting the food supplies, were absolutely essential to the welfare of the community. They would probably have continued their functions without great difficulty if the laws of supply and demand had been allowed free play, because they would have been able to make a living. But the state stepped in, from a mistaken idea of economic principles, and by law established prices for different commodities. Thus the trades were crippled, and at the same time escape was forbidden to the members of the colleges. They were not allowed to leave their calling unless they could supply a substitute in the person of a son. Moreover, the son was obliged by law to follow his father's trade. The workmen in the imperial factories were branded, so that they should not run away. There was little opportunity for even the

ablest of the citizens to improve their condition, and their ambition was crushed. They worked without enthusiasm and felt no interest in the general welfare. Society was decadent and all hope of advance had been crushed out of the minds of the citizens.

Taxes

The taxes bore heavily upon the people. Most of the local expenses were paid by the *civitates,* and the sources of outlay for the central government were comparatively few. But the cost of maintaining two imperial governments was great; payments of tribute to the barbarians on the frontier were frequent; and the populace in the two capitals had to be given their bread and shows, "*panem et circenses.*" On the other hand the number of salaried officials was small in comparison with those employed by a modern government and the army was also relatively small. Yet contemporaries regarded the taxation as an intolerable burden. This was due in part to the unjust apportionment and in part to the wasteful method of collection. In theory the apportionment was very just. Indirect taxes were relatively unimportant and great pains had been taken to equalize the units of direct taxation. The land throughout the Empire had been divided into portions of assumed value, which varied greatly in extent according to the character of the soil. Each one of these portions, no matter how it might come to be divided, retained its identity on the imperial tax list, so that it was theoretically easy to apportion the taxes, as there were so many units in each province. The direct personal tax was arranged in the same manner; an artificial unit, a *caput,* was created which might include one or several persons. The artisans and merchants, however, paid a special tax instead of the regular capitation tax. This difference was due to the fact that in the eyes of the state they were able to pay more than the average citizen. These three taxes (the land tax, the capitation tax, and the tax on artisans and merchants) formed the main source of revenue for the state. The people were also required to maintain the roads and bridges, to furnish horses for the post service, clothing and provisions for the army, to entertain all the imperial officials on their journeys, and to perform many other burdensome services.

Unjust Apportionment

In actual practice the nobles, who held most of the land, paid less than their fair share. They sometimes purchased, or had granted to them as a privilege, exemption from taxation. Sometimes they resisted by force, and drove the tax-gatherers from their estates. More frequently by their influence as members of the imperial governing class they evaded payment in whole or in part. As a result the taxes fell more heavily upon the men of moderate means and upon the poor, because the quota due had to

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be paid somehow by the inhabitants of each *civitas*. And yet, in spite of exemptions, privileges, and evasions, taxation was felt to be burdensome even by the nobles. Apollinaris Sidonius considered it worthy of note that at a social gathering "no one spoke of the incidence of taxation." Far more burdensome were the taxes upon the small land-owners. To escape payment many transferred their holdings to some noble and became *coloni*. Thus the great estates increased in size and the class of *coloni* in number. The laws in vain prohibited a free man from becoming a *colonus* or even a slave. Many chose the non-free status to escape the ruinous taxation. Because of the evasion of these men, those who remained subject to the burden suffered the more heavily.

Collection of Taxes

The method of collection led to extortion and tyranny. The whole amount of the tax to be paid was levied upon each *civitas* by the imperial officials. The *curiales* then had to collect the sum and were responsible for its payment to the imperial coffers; if they could not get it from others, they had to pay it from their own means. They endeavored to make each man contribute as much as possible, and each man tried to escape as easily as possible. The *curiales* were authorized to use torture on persons of non-noble rank in order to secure a truthful declaration of their wealth. Consequently the *curiales* were frequently looked upon as tyrants. From the pen of Lactantius, a contemporary, we have this account of their methods: "Slaves were dealt with to accuse their masters, and wives to accuse their husbands. When no sort of evidence could be found, men were forced by torture to accuse themselves.... After that all men were thus listed; then so much money was laid upon every man's head, as if it had been to pay so much for his life. Yet this matter was not trusted to the first tax-men, but new sets of them, one after another, were sent about, that new men might always find new matter to work upon; and though they could not really discover anything, yet they increased the numbers in the lists they made, that so it might not be said that they had been sent to no purpose. By means of these oppressions the stock of the cattle was much diminished and many men died; and yet the taxes continued still to be levied, even for those that were dead; to such misery were men reduced that even death did not put an end to it." Despite all their efforts the *curiales* frequently could not collect the whole sum and then they had to pay the balance. Their number gradually decreased. A few were able to secure admission into the senatorial nobility, but the great majority had to remain in office until they were ruined.

Decline in Population

Taxation was the more oppressive because the population was steadily declining in numbers. For several centuries free labor

had suffered from the competition of slave labor. Farms had been turned into pastures in many parts of the Empire and consequently supported a smaller population. The great estates had swallowed up many farms and the farmers had either gone to swell the proletariat in the capitals or had sunk into the non-free class. The Romans, from the time of Augustus onward, were inclined to be averse to marriage and especially to having large families. The emperors attempted to change this state of affairs by offering special privileges to fathers who had three or more children, but their efforts were almost fruitless. The leaders in the Christian church encouraged celibacy; economic conditions hindered many from marrying; by these and other causes the natural increase in numbers was checked. In the time of Marcus Aurelius (121-180 A.D.), and later, the plague swept repeatedly over the Empire, carrying off many thousands. Barbarians were imported to fill the gaps and to cultivate the land, but they did not multiply rapidly when they came under the influence of the Roman civilization. It has frequently and truthfully been said that Rome was perishing for lack of men.

Decadence

The decadence of society can be seen clearly in their literature, art, and system of education. In the first they imitated or commented upon their great predecessors. During the last centuries of Roman rule, the Christian writings form the only literature produced in the West which has virility. Omitting the writers on topics connected with Christianity, a list of Roman literary men of the fourth and fifth centuries contains scarcely a name which the average educated man knows. In art the Romans were not able to do as good work as had been done under the early Empire. Constantine had been obliged to adorn his arch with ornaments taken bodily from older constructions. The coins show very clearly the decline in artistic skill. If a coin of Nero or of Augustus is placed beside a coin of Diocletian or one of the later emperors, the contrast is very marked, and the later production seems almost barbaric in contrast with the artistic skill evident in the earlier. In their schools they copied servilely the methods which had been useful to former generations. Moreover, Greek was already being neglected in the West and the curriculum of instruction was restricted to compends and compilations from the earlier Latin authors. Vergil, especially, and Horace and Terence were eagerly studied. The Latin prose writers were comparatively neglected and there was no serious attention paid to science, to philosophy, or to history. Educated men were looking back to the past and not looking forward hopefully and confidently to future achievements. They who were the most fortunately placed

CHAP. I were quite content to hold the usual offices and then retire to a life of elegant leisure. Things of little consequence were frequently invested with undue importance and trifles were magnified into affairs of state.

Few Romans had any conception whatever of the dangers which threatened their civilization. Even those who felt that the times were out of joint were inclined to attribute it, if they were pagans, to Christianity; and if Christians, to the still prevalent paganism. But, until the catastrophes of the fifth century, no one dreamed that barbarian kingdoms could be established within the Roman Empire, or that the Roman unity was actually destined to pass away.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE PERIOD OF THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS

ROMAN unity had facilitated the task of the apostles. This idea was well expressed by Prudentius, who lived in the second half of the fourth century: "God willed peoples of discordant tongues, kingdoms of conflicting laws, to be brought together under one empire, because concord alone knows God. Hence He taught all nations to bow their necks under the same laws and to become Romans. Common rights made all men equal, and bound the vanquished with the bonds of fraternity. The city is the fatherland of all humanity, our very blood is mingled, and one stock is woven out of many races. This is the fruit of the triumphs of Rome; they opened the door for Christ to enter." [1]

Roman Unity

Certain features of the Roman civilization were very important, both for the early spread of Christianity and for the later organization of the church. Excellent roads made travel and communication easy throughout the Empire. The fact that Latin was the official language and that only one other language, Greek, was used at all commonly, facilitated intercourse between the Christians. The tolerant polytheism of the Romans opposed but little resistance to new religions and many of the best educated were tending toward a monotheistic form of belief. The worship of Isis and Mithra had made some acquainted with beliefs and practices which were very similar to those of the Christian church. Finally, there was a genuine and deep interest in religion.

Favoring Conditions

During the first three centuries Christianity had been prohibited by law. The persecutions were not continuous, but a new attack might be brought about at any time by the anger of the mob or the zeal of an official. Consequently the membership of the church in its early days, was composed of men and women who were profoundly in earnest, ready to risk their lives for their faith, and usually of high character and excellent morals. Under persecution comparatively few were found who denied Christ; the great mass of believers remained steadfast.

Effect of Persecutions

The number of Christians increased rapidly, especially in the third century. But while various estimates have been made for

Number of Christians

[1] From Prudentius, adapted by Bigg in Wayside Sketches, p. 24.

CHAP. II

the fourth century and no definite figures can be given, all agree that the Christians formed only a small minority of the total population. Yet in certain provinces, particularly Asia Minor, almost half of the inhabitants had probably accepted the new religion; moreover, "Christianity was a religion of towns and cities," and its members could make their influence felt.[2] Consequently its adherents possessed a strength entirely disproportionate to their actual number, and their earnestness, zeal, and high moral character made their support desirable.

How far Constantine may have been actuated by this fact or by other motives of self-interest and how far he may have been sincere in his adherence to Christianity must always remain uncertain. Whatever his motives, he showed favor to the Christians, and finally made Christianity the state religion. Just before the edicts of toleration, "the prisons and the mines were thronged with Christian confessors; the executioner's sword was red with Christian blood. In a few years Christianity was tolerated and favored. Its adherents held high places in the Empire; its churches rivaled in splendor the temples of the pagan gods. At the end of the century it was no longer merely tolerated but dominant; it was the religion of the state; and heresy was a political crime." The church edifice had even become an asylum, inviolable, save in exceptional circumstances, by the officers of the law. The results were in many respects deplorable, as those who sought the emperor's favor became members of the church, and the ambitious, the worthless, the indifferent, became nominally Christians. In place of a comparatively small body of believers, bound together by similar aspirations and a common sense of danger, the church now enrolled among its numbers countless thousands attracted by less worthy motives.[3] Many sincere pagans of high moral character refused to join the triumphant body, and looked with contempt upon the vast number who had been converted so quickly when the imperial favor had been bestowed upon Christianity. The great Christian writers, John Chrysostom and Jerome, agreed that the wealthier the church became, the less virtuous its members were (*divitiis major, virtutibus minor*). The process of deterioration was so rapid and seemingly so complete that the history of the fourth-century church is a melancholy study. As Archdeacon Farrar expresses it, "the apparent

The State Religion

[2] See A. Harnack, Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (New York, 1905), Vol. II, final chapter.

[3] The deterioration had already begun during the period of comparative prosperity about the middle of the third century. It had, however, been checked by later persecutions.

triumph of Christianity was in some sense, and for a time, its real defeat, the corruption of its simplicity, the defacement of its purest and loftiest beauty." "The Christian faith, planted in the dissolute cities of Asia Minor," says Lecky, "had produced many fanatical ascetics, and a few illustrious theologians, but it had no renovating effect upon the people at large. It introduced among them a principle of interminable and implacable dissension, but it scarcely tempered in any appreciable degree their luxury or their sensuality."

This seems to have been especially true of the East and of Constantinople. In the West, and particularly at Rome, Christianity seems to have made less rapid progress. The emperor was not so close at hand and his favor not so immediately felt. Many of the Roman nobles clung to the gods of their ancestors, under whose protecting care they believed Rome had achieved greatness. About 347 A.D. there were still the seven vestal virgins at Rome, and throngs of citizens still worshiped Jupiter and the great Mother of the Gods. In 353 the emperor Constantius prohibited sacrifice to the pagan divinities, under penalty of death, but this decree does not appear to have been enforced. A calendar of the following year gives all the pagan festivals without a hint that Christianity had in any way superseded the older faith. At the beginning of the fifth century paganism was still strong in many parts of the West; and at the time of the Visigothic and Vandal invasions many ascribed all the misfortunes from which the state was suffering to the anger of the gods whose altars had been deserted. The strength of paganism, the external enemy, must be kept in mind in studying the opposition to heresy, the enemy within the Christian fold.

Pagan Survivals

Gradually Christianity triumphed over paganism even in the West. Toward the end of the fourth century the property of the temples was confiscated by the state and the statue of Victory was removed from the senate chamber at Rome. Later, under a usurper, the statue was temporarily replaced, and one year the festival of Isis was celebrated with particular magnificence. But the usurper was soon put down, and early in the fifth century the temples were converted into churches and the shrines of the old Roman religion were soon thronged with the triumphant adherents of the new faith.

Triumph of Christianity

Because of the necessity for combating both external and internal enemies, the organization of the church gradually became very effective. In its main outlines it was similar to the imperial organization, and for its geographical divisions in the West it adopted the boundaries of the older political divisions. At the

Organization Hierar

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beginning of the fifth century almost every *civitas* had its bishop, who was head of the church in that district.[4] Priests, deacons, sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and other church officials are mentioned in the edicts of the emperors. It is evident that the hierarchy was numerous and carefully subordinated to the bishops. Among the latter, certain ones were preëminent, and exercised great authority over their fellow-bishops. This was true of the heads of the churches founded by the apostles and especially of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, the old and the new capital of the Empire. In the East there were, therefore, the three patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople who possessed especial prestige. The last, although he did not claim apostolic origin, gradually came to be recognized as superior in authority to the other two. This was due mainly to the importance of his position as bishop of the imperial city.

Rise of Bishop of Rome

Rome was the only city in the West which in the early centuries claimed an apostolic foundation. Moreover, it was generally held that the authority delegated by Christ to Peter, "chief of the apostles," had been transmitted by the latter to the bishops of Rome, as Peter was believed to have been the first bishop of Rome. In addition, the prestige of Rome, the old capital of the Empire, to which the people were accustomed to look for laws and guidance, naturally gave greater authority to its bishop. A long line of these increased this power by using it wisely. They were "always to be found on the side of a staunch but liberal orthodoxy." By the beginning of the fifth century the bishop of Rome held a unique position, from which developed gradually the powers and attributes of the medieval papacy.

Influence of Emperors

In the fourth and fifth centuries the emperors still performed many of the functions which were later absorbed by the popes. Among the imperial edicts in the Theodosian code are included regulations forbidding rebaptism and concerning other matters which now seem strictly ecclesiastical. The emperors deemed themselves responsible for the guidance of the church as well as of the state, and felt it to be their duty to decide what was orthodox Christianity, to repress heresy, to summon general councils, and to enforce the canons. The clergy, and the bishops in particular, endeavored to make themselves entirely independent of all other officials; but, as Gieseler states "they still acknowledged the emperor to be their highest judge, so much so that the Roman

[4] In some parts of the Empire each town had its bishop. In Northern Africa four hundred and seventy episcopal towns are known by name. Here and in other parts of the East it was only gradually that the office of bishop became restricted to the larger places.

bishop (in 378) regarded it a distinction to be judged only by the Emperor. None ventured to call in question the supreme authority of the emperor, so far as it did not violate the rights of conscience; and the imperial laws, even when they touched the church, were received by the bishops with implicit obedience. The great influence exercised by the emperors, partly in filling up the most important episcopal sees, partly even in deposing and appointing bishops without further ceremony, naturally secured to them the obedience of the clergy, and with it the direction of ecclesiastical affairs." CHAP. II

Councils

Questions of doctrine and discipline were often brought before councils for decision. Occasionally general ones were summoned by the emperor to discuss important points in doctrine; more frequently councils including only the clergy of a province were called by the bishops. It had been ordered by general councils in 325 and 451 that provincial assemblies be held twice a year, and, while this rule was seldom observed, the meetings were frequent. A study of the canons enacted by these gatherings shows the church endeavoring to organize its hierarchy, to define its dogma, to regulate admission into its offices, to purify the morals of its members, to establish the jurisdiction of its courts, to settle methods of judicial procedure, and to decide a multitude of similar questions. Many of the subjects discussed would now be considered outside of the range of ecclesiastical interests; but at the time there was no clear line of demarcation between ecclesiastical and civil interests; any subject which concerned the welfare of its members might be discussed and legislated upon at a council of the church.

Heresies

Questions of heresy were frequently discussed. Arianism,[5] which had been the most prominent heresy in the fourth century, was becoming relatively less important in the Empire by the beginning of the following century. It was again to be a burning question when reintroduced by the conquering barbarians. But other differences of belief were arising, for the attitude and thought of the Christians had been profoundly influenced by the great mass of pagans who had flocked into the church. The Greeks had brought with them their ideas of philosophy, and wanted to reason out logically what had been previously mere matters of faith. The pagans as a whole naturally tried to reconcile their habits of thought with the new religion. Consequently the latter was sometimes profoundly modified, and the result

[5] Arianism was the belief of Arius and his followers, who held that Jesus was the son of God, but not of the same substance or co-eternal with Him.

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might be a new form of heresy; at other times the change was not so great and caused only a restatement of the existing doctrine. It is impossible here to describe all the various beliefs and shades of belief which were dividing the Christians; yet two were so important and exercised so much influence, not only upon the men of that time but also upon later generations, that they must be mentioned.

Manicheism

The Manicheans dated from the third century, when their founder Mani taught in Persia. Their beliefs and doctrines are not fully understood, but their religion was a composite of the old Babylonian nature-religion then practised in Persia, of Christianity, and of some other elements.[6] Their most fundamental belief was in the existence of two eternal principles, good and evil, light and darkness. They held that this material world was the creation of the evil principle believed by them to be the god of the Old Testament, which they rejected. As this statement indicates, their creed was not really a heresy, but a system rival to Christianity. It appealed very strongly to many, as it seemed to explain so easily some of the perplexities which beset mankind, especially the existence of evil in the world. The Manicheans cited the New Testament in confirmation of their teachings. Their leaders, "the elect," practised asceticism and led excellent lives. Augustine was for nine years an adherent of the Manichean doctrines[7] before accepting Christianity.

Pelagianism

The second great heresy of the age was Pelagianism, which takes its name from Pelagius, a British monk who flourished during the first quarter of the fifth century. Augustine described him as "a holy man who has made no small progress in the Christian life." His followers differed widely upon individual points of belief, but they all held that there is no original sin, that man can by his free will choose good as well as evil, and that it is possible for every one to attain to happiness, i. e., eternal life. The teachings and example of Christ and the operations of grace aid in the attainment of goodness, but it is necessary for a man freely to resolve to be good in order to profit by grace. Predestination is founded entirely on God's knowledge of how men will act. Augustine argued vigorously against this point of view, and, although it had remarkable success for a time, it was finally adjudged to be heretical. The mere statement of these two heresies

[6] Until recently we have had only the statements of their opponents. The discovery in Chinese Turkestan of part of the "long-lost Mani Bible" may throw additional light upon the subject.

[7] In the account of the Albigensians more of the Manichean beliefs will be described; see Chapter xxx

shows that the Christians of the fifth century were struggling with great problems which still divide the members of the Christian churches. In combating these and other heresies the energy of the councils and of the church fathers was mainly absorbed, and the writings of the latter are chiefly concerned with the refutation of heretics.

Functions of Clergy

The functions and powers of the clergy also had to be defined, as these were changing with considerable rapidity. In many cases the bishops held a relatively humble position, and they, as well as their assistant priests, frequently earned their living by their own handiwork. The apostolical injunction was accepted literally, "If any would not work, neither should he eat." There was no feeling that honest labor of any kind was in any way unsuitable for a member of the clergy; bishops were free to farm, to trade, or to practise a profession. The local councils merely insisted that the bishops should, in whatever they did, be examples to all other Christians and should never take advantage of their position in order to make excessive gains.

Wealth of Bishops

The power of the bishops was increased and the necessity of earning their living was done away with by the wealth which the church acquired. In the fourth century the custom of making gifts and of bequeathing property to the church became common. Some of the members of the clergy seem to have spent much of their energy and time in securing gifts from women. In 370 the emperors felt it necessary to publish a decree forbidding ecclesiastics to visit the houses of widows and wards. Jerome wrote sorrowfully, "I do not complain of the law but of the causes which have rendered the law necessary." In addition to the voluntary or involuntary gifts from the faithful, the emperor gave salaries to the clergy and transferred to the church some of the revenues of the pagan temples, as well as the buildings themselves. As a result the clergy often became wealthy, and in the canons of the councils the clergy were frequently forbidden to take interest on the money which they lent. The possession of a sufficient income made a great change in the position of the clergy. The bishops began to gather together their priests and other assistants in their dwellings. This isolated the officials to some extent from the people and encouraged them to live a life apart, so that a bishop's household sometimes became very similar to a monastic community.

Wealth and power were by no means equal among the bishops. Those in the most important places naturally came to possess greater riches and authority than those in the smaller towns. There were exceptions due to the ability of individuals like Augus-

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Metropolitans

tine, bishop of Hippo, but in the course of time the ablest men were generally attracted to the great centers. The bishop of the chief city of a province came to be known as a metropolitan, and to have authority over the other bishops within the province. The bishop of the chief city of a diocese was supposed to have a similar authority over the metropolitans within his diocese. But the development was not consistent nor uniform throughout the Empire. The trouble caused by the barbarian invasions interfered with the logical course of events and the ecclesiastical hierarchy was only gradually developed.

Monachism

As the church became secularized many Christians fled from its worldliness, but without any intention of withdrawing from the Christian fold. They renounced family life, riches, and all the joys of this world, in order to prepare themselves for the next. This was consistent with the belief of the time, which taught that the Christian ideal should be absorption in the preparation for the life after death. The more earnest believers felt that it was absolutely necessary to escape from the snares of the worldly life which was more and more absorbing the interests of the Christians. Because of this doctrine, monasticism took its rise.

Anthony

This withdrawal from the world commenced in lower Egypt. Its beginnings are enshrined in the legends of the hermits, from which some facts may be gleaned. Anthony is the most renowned of the early ascetics. When he was twenty years old, he sold all his property and retired to the desert. At first he lived in solitude, combating the temptations which tormented him for fifteen years. Later, pilgrims gathered about him and he became the head of a community which he guided by his precepts. He taught his associates to engage in manual labor and to be charitable. Twice he went to Alexandria, once to seek martyrdom during apersecution, and a second time, at the head of an army of monks, to fight Arianism. He won great popular veneration, but was eager to return to the desert. "The fish die," he said, "when they are drawn to land, and the monks lose their strength in towns." He was noted for his humility, kindly disposition, good sense, and wonderful health, which prolonged his life to the age of over one hundred years.

Spread of Movement

By the year 340 there were thousands of hermits in various parts of the East. As says Harnack, "Some had gone out in order really to make atonement and to become saints; others to pose as such. Some fled society and its vices; others their calling and its toils. Some were simple-hearted and of indomitable will others were sick of the whirl of life. In the one case the hermit desired to become poor both in mind and body, despising reason

and learning." Among these men there were the greatest possible divergences in manner of life. Some loved nature and were happy in a simple round of toil and prayer; others went to the greatest extremes in asceticism which they could imagine; still others used their profession merely as a cloak for idleness and sin. The West became interested in this movement when Athanasius visited Rome and took with him two monks. The latter attracted much attention, and by their conduct and character made monasticism known in its most favorable light. When Anthony died Athanasius wrote his biography, which was widely read in Rome and influenced many to follow his example. Some ascetic communities were formed, especially in the palaces of women of noble birth. Jerome was an enthusiastic advocate of monasticism and became the spiritual guide of these communities. Later some Roman ladies followed him to Palestine and established monasteries there.

Opposition in the West

But the movement found many opponents, particularly in the West. In the East the church, especially the orthodox Athanasian bishops, had welcomed the monks as allies. They had been venerated by the people and the emperor; Constantine had shown his favor by writing to Anthony. While the eastern populace in general looked upon the monks as the ideal Christians, the point of view in the West was very different. There monachism began as an aristocratic movement and met with little popular favor. In Rome the funeral of a young woman who was thought to have starved herself to death aroused the mob to anger and they clamored for the expulsion of the monks. "When will this detestable race of monks be chased from the city?" they cried. "Why do not the people stone them? Why are they not thrown into the river?" At first the western bishops were not at all well disposed toward this new movement, and it was only about the end of the fourth century that it took firm root. Even then its usages were almost entirely borrowed from the East; but the western monks usually avoided the extremes which had brought discredit upon some phases of monasticism. Only in the sixth century, when Benedict had organized western monachism, did it become the Christian ideal in the West. Then "religion" came to mean monastic life; "secular" was used to designate the members of the clergy who were not living under monastic rule; and "conversion" was the act of taking the monastic habit.

Augustine

The leaders of thought in the fifth century had already given their adherence to the monastic ideal. Of these, Augustine was the most influential, and his life shows many of the currents which were affecting the times. He was born in 354, in northern Africa. Although his mother, Monica, was a Christian, he was not bap-

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tized until he had reached manhood. He grew up among the temptations of the African cities, and took to himself a mistress by whom he had a son. When a young man, he became a Manichean; but he began to question the Manichean point of view, especially after he became interested in neo-platonic philosophy. After two years of study at Milan he finally accepted the Christian faith, and in 387 he and his son were baptized by Ambrose. For forty-three years Augustine served the church, particularly by his writings against the various heresies. He was a very prolific author, and in the Middle Ages his works were popular, especially his *City of God*. At the present time the *Confessions*, a kind of autobiography, is his best known work and our chief source for his life. In his writings, which were so numerous that Isidore later said no one could hope ever to read them all, he discussed all of the burning questions of the day; through them he became the spiritual guide of western Christendom. In his house at Hippo, where he was the bishop, Augustine gathered his priests and associates; for them he established a community government very similar to monastic life.

This gathering together of the clergy in the bishop's house, and the life which they led apart, is characteristic of the position which they held. The emperors had given them special privileges as a class. They were not required to hold the municipal offices which entailed such onerous duties. They were granted partial exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, so that, if they preferred, all cases in which members of the clergy were concerned might be tried by the ecclesiastical courts. In certain cases, such as offenses against religion, even the lay members were tried in the courts of the church. Not only was its jurisdiction recognized by law: its means of coercing its own members in case of need were strengthened by the action of the state in recognizing that excommunication from the church in one place excluded the excommunicated from all orthodox churches. This made excommunication a terrible weapon. One who fell under this ban was not merely shut out from participation in any act of worship, but could not even have social intercourse with any Christian. This weapon gave the bishops great power.

Privileges of Clergy

Many unworthy men entered the ranks of the clergy in order to profit by this power and the special civil status which they would possess as officials of the church. The letters of Jerome draw a scathing picture of the conduct of some of these men. He depicts them as covetous of wealth, given to gossip and to frequenting the homes of wealthy ladies. A typical description reads: "One of these men, who is the prince of this art, I will briefly

Unworthy Members

and concisely describe, in order that when you know the master you may the more readily recognize his disciples. He hastes to rise with the sun, he arranges the order of his visits, he seeks short-cuts, and the troublesome old man almost pushes his way into the bed-chamber of people before they are awake. If he happens to see a cushion, a pretty napkin, or piece of furniture, he praises it, he handles it, he admires it, he complains that he lacks such things; and he not so much begs it as extorts it; for every one fears to offend the city newsman. Chastity he hates, fasting he hates; what he likes is the smell of dinner, and his weakness is sucking-pig. He has a barbarous and froward tongue, always ready for bad language. Wherever you go, there he is; whatever news you hear, he is either the author or exaggerator of the report. He is constantly changing his horses, and from their sleekness and fire you would think that he was the son-in-law of the Thracian king." Jerome is no less outspoken about the evil character of many of the Christian laity. His criticisms can easily be corroborated from the sermons of John Chrysostom and of Augustine, or from the pages of the pagan Ammianus Marcellinus. Whatever allowances may be made for exaggeration, it is evident that the church was no longer composed exclusively of men and women of high moral character.

Pagan Influences

Beliefs and customs had altered sadly. The influx of thousands who were essentially pagan in their point of view had not merely lowered the general standard of morality, but had also introduced beliefs and customs from the older religions. Baptism had come to be considered popularly as a mystic rite by which all sin was washed away, and consequently baptism was frequently postponed until a man had sowed his wild oats. Some Christians even believed that all who had been baptized would be saved, no matter how sinful their lives had been. As the temples were converted into churches, pagan customs were copied or continued, so that many festivals with their accompanying ceremonies became identified with the Christian worship. "Christian churches of the fifth century even copied the pagan custom of having baths attached for the convenience of the worshipers. People hung up their crutches and ex-votos to the saints as they had done to Juno and Aesculapius. They had the music, the incense, and the flowers, and candles, and vestment, and holy-water, just as in the good old times." Sacred banquets, similar to the old pagan feasts, were held in the churches in the fourth century; on such occasions feasting, drinking, and dancing through the whole day polluted the building.

Laymen took a very active interest in doctrines and external

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Activity of Laymen

observances. Much of the activity which in a free state would have been directed into politics was, in the Roman Empire, devoted to religious partizanship. The factions at the races in the Hippodrome divided not only according to their favorite charioteers, but according to their views on religious matters. Elections to the office of bishop or priest were to a great extent in the hands of laymen. "In those times of universal misery and disorganization it not uncommonly happened that the people laid hold of any religious and powerful layman, in whom they saw an efficient champion against the oppression of tax-collectors or cruelty of barbarian invaders, and compelled him to accept ordination by pressure little, or not at all, short of physical force." Thus Augustine was chosen at Hippo. In the churches the congregations criticized the sermons freely, applauding loudly when pleased, or interrupting when they disapproved. When John Chrysostom at Constantinople thundered against the fashions of the day, his hearers would loudly resent his censures.

Dangerous Position

Because of the influx of the unworthy, the opportunities for the ambitious, the power exercised by the emperors in matters of faith and discipline, and the excessive interference of the laity, the church was in a perilous position, especially in the East. In the West its development and power were different, because the migrations brought new conditions which were favorable to the growth of the power of the bishops in general, and especially of the bishop of Rome.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY GERMANS

Knowledge of Germans

AS the Germans played such an important rôle during the Middle Ages, all that can be gleaned concerning their primitive institutions is of peculiar interest. In recent years our knowledge of their early history and customs has been greatly increased by careful archæological studies, by the comparison and criticism of the various passages in the classical authors, and by an examination of their early laws. But the most important single source is still Tacitus' *Germania,* from which much of this chapter is either quoted or paraphrased. The racial customs which Tacitus described were long maintained by the Germans and played a large part in shaping the destinies of western Europe.

Their Home

The German tribes had their settlements in the central and northern parts of Europe, and the territory which they occupied extended southward from the Scandinavian peninsula to the Danube. The Rhine was their western boundary and the Vistula River marked approximately their farthest extent to the east. This land which the Germans held was neither especially fertile nor attractive. According to Pomponius Mela, "it was traversed by many rivers, and was rough with mountains, and was for the most part impassable on account of the forests and swamps." "Who, indeed," wrote Tacitus, "would leave Asia or Africa or Italy to seek Germany, with its desert scenery, its harsh climate, its sullen manners and aspect? In general the country, though varying here and there in appearance, is covered over with wild forests and filthy swamps."

Occupations

The German was the child of these forests and swamps. In them he learned to endure hunger and cold. He was usually a nomad and made his living by hunting or by tending his herds of cattle, which were numerous, but of a very poor quality. Here and there in the forests were open, small-treed tracts suitable for agriculture, and a few of these were cultivated. In addition some German tribes had great herds of swine which roamed in the woods, and some kept poultry and bees. The only handicraft commonly practised by the men was that of the smith. They knew the use of iron, from which they wrought their weapons, and they could make ornaments out of gold. The women wove

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linen, made soap, tanned leather for shoes, and baked vessels of earthenware. Although their culture was thus limited, they proved afterwards to have a great capacity for advance.

Characteristics

They were a hardy, vigorous race; weak or deformed infants were exposed and left to die. The children who were to be raised were early inured to hardships, and those who survived grew to a stature which seemed gigantic to the smaller Romans. They were blonds with "fierce blue eyes" and reddish or golden hair, which they allowed to grow long, as the visible mark of their freedom. They were fitful and passionate in temper and often of a gloomy nature. "Their song echoes to a homelier note of sorrow—to hunger and cold, howl of wolf, grinding of ice, exile and misery of friendless men, bitter toil on a wintry ocean; such is the shadow to which a fierceness of delight in battle and slaughter makes the only contrast."[1] In fact, courage was the special virtue, and cowardice the unpardonable sin. Weaklings and cowards were cast into the miry swamps and a hurdle placed over their heads, so that their infamy might be blotted out from human sight. The virtue which next to valor seems to be especially noteworthy was the hospitality practised by the Germans. No other race indulged more freely in entertainments and ungrudging hospitality. It was considered a crime for a German to turn any man away from his door.

Vices

Drunkenness and gambling were the most prominent vices. It was held to be no disgrace to spend the whole day and night in drinking. Tacitus, a sagacious Roman, suggested: "If you should indulge their love of drinking by furnishing them as much as they wanted, they might be conquered more easily by their vices than by arms." They gambled with such great recklessness in their gains and losses that when everything else was gone they staked their liberty and their own persons on the last decisive throw. The loser went into voluntary slavery. Though he might be the younger and stronger of the two, he suffered himself to be bound and led away. Because of these vices and some other points of resemblance it has sometimes been customary to compare the early Germans with the American Indians of colonial days; but the former were already more advanced than the latter and had a greater capacity for making further progress.

Houses

The Germans had no cities, as they preferred to live in villages made up of separate houses surrounded by open spaces. These houses, or huts, were built of wood and were intended mainly for

[1] Gummere: Germanic Origins, p. 36. Throughout the chapter I am much indebted to Gummere. Other quotations, when no source is given, are from Tacitus: Germania.

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summer use; in winter the people took refuge in holes underground, covered with great heaps of manure for the sake of warmth. Their summer dwellings were small and sometimes very light so that they could be moved easily from place to place. The fire was made in the center of the hut; there was no chimney, and the smoke escaped as best it could. As the roof was constructed of reeds or straw it was very inflammable and the houses often caught fire and burned to the ground. Fortunately they could be rebuilt with little exertion.

Clothing and Food

All the clothing was made by the women. Among the more barbarous tribes furs were usually worn, but most of the German men and women had woolen or linen garments; the children of all classes grew up naked. For ornaments the wealthy wore golden rings upon the arms or neck or fingers. They were very fond of bathing and usually preferred warm water. Their favorite food appears to have been horse-flesh; they also ate game, beef, mutton, fish, geese, ducks, and chickens; in addition they had oats, barley, wheat, and some vegetables. Honey was much used, both for sweetening and in the preparation of their national drink, mead. They knew how to obtain salt from the salt springs.

Religion

Their religion was a mixture of the worship of their ancestors and of the powers of nature. Their mythology included the belief in many gods, spirits of the air, of the water, and of the woods; they had faith also in witches and divination. They worshiped usually in groves and sometimes upon islands. To the shades of their ancestors they made offerings of food; to the gods they sacrificed animals and occasionally human beings. After an animal had been duly offered to the god, the worshipers feasted upon the flesh; possibly this was also done in the case of human sacrifices. In much later times Charlemagne found it necessary to order the infliction of the death penalty upon any among the Saxons who should burn a witch and feast upon his or her flesh. Horses were the animals most commonly used for sacrifice, and the eating of horse-flesh was condemned later by the Christians on account of its associations with the pagan worship. The priests had great authority among the Germans and they alone were allowed to inflict blows upon a free man.

Position of Women

The Germans believed that women had "a certain sanctity and prophetic gift." Their "wise women" were supposed to be able to interpret or to express the will of the gods; and after death some of them became local deities and later still they were metamorphosed into Christian saints. Women performed the bulk of the labor among the Germans; they not only carried on the household crafts, but also cultivated the fields, while the men.

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when they were not engaged in hunting or fighting, usually spent their time in idleness, sleeping, drinking, or gambling. The German usually had only one wife; but a chieftain might marry several women, in order to form alliances with other tribes. The wife was usually purchased from her father, by the gift of horses, oxen, or weapons, and in case of need could be sold again by her husband. The women were extolled by Tacitus for their chastity and fertility; in his extreme praise, however, he is probably contrasting them with Roman women. Adulteresses existed and were sternly dealt with. The punishment was immediate and was inflicted by the injured husband, who cut off the woman's hair in the presence of her kinsfolk, drove her naked from his house, and flogged her through the whole village.

Chiefs

The Germans chose their chieftains from the families which were considered to be the noblest. Distinguished rank or great services on the part of their parents sometimes won even for mere striplings the claim to be ranked as chiefs. But the latter did not have much power in times of peace and were not necessarily the leaders in battle, for the commanders in war were chosen on account of their valor, and when chosen led by example rather than authority, winning admiration and obedience only when they were energetic and fought well. During the later migrations a successful leader won for himself much greater authority than the early chiefs had possessed and frequently became the king of his people.

Public Assemblies

Public business was transacted in the assemblies; and there, too, important judicial matters were decided. The people met "either at the new moon or at the full moon," in some open place; all free men had a right to be present, except those who were in disgrace because they had fled from the field of battle and left their shields behind. When a sufficient number had come together, the priests proclaimed silence and kept order. The latter duty was sometimes no sinecure, as the men came fully armed. Concerning minor matters the chiefs deliberated; but in important affairs all the people were consulted, although the subjects referred to the common people for judgment had been discussed beforehand by the chiefs. A chieftain or some leader addressed them, each being heard according to his age, his noble blood, his reputation in warfare, or his eloquence, though more because he had the power to persuade than because he had the right to command. If an opinion was displeasing they rejected it by shouting; if they agreed to it they clashed with their spears. The most complimentary form of assent was that expressed by means of their weapons. No one was allowed to assume arms until the tribe had

recognized his competence to use them. Then in the full assembly some one of the chiefs, or the father or relations of the youth, invested him with the shield and spear. This was the sign that the lad had reached the age of manhood; this was his first honor. Before this he had been only a member of a household; hereafter he was a member of the tribe. Lawsuits and accusations of serious crime were brought before the assembly. Questions of guilt were determined by ordeals of various kinds.[2] For the convicted, unless he was sentenced to death as a traitor or deserter, the penalty was usually a fine. Even murder entailed only the payment of a sum of money, comparatively large, but established in amount by law, provided the kinsmen were willing to accept compensation. If the latter preferred they had a right to attempt revenge, and others could interfere only by their influence, not by punishment of the avengers.

Frequently it was impossible to persuade the kinsmen to accept a payment, because the Germans dearly loved fighting. If the tribe to which they belonged was at peace for any length of time, many of the noble youths voluntarily sought other tribes that were at war, because a quiet life was irksome and they gained renown more readily in the midst of perils. Consequently the young men enrolled themselves under the leadership of some chief renowned in war, who furnished them food and shelter, their war-horse and weapons, securing the means for this bounty by war and plunder, or through the gifts which poured in to him on account of his reputation. When they went into battle it was a disgrace for the chief to be outdone in deeds of valor and for his band of followers — the *comitatus* — not to match the courage of their chief; furthermore for any one of the followers to have survived his chief and come unharmed out of a battle was lifelong infamy. It was in accordance with their most sacred oath of allegiance to defend and protect their leader and to contribute their bravest deeds to his renown. The chief fought for victory; the men of his following, for the chief. Ammianus Marcellinus tells of a German king who surrendered after the emperor Julian had defeated the Alamanni at Strassburg; and his "companions, two hundred in number, and his three most intimate friends, thinking it would be a crime in them to survive their king, or not to die for him if occasion required, gave themselves up also as prisoners."

Comitatus

The knowledge concerning the Germans which has been summarized above was gained by the Romans only very gradually, from their contact with them. Except for the accounts of isolated

[2] See Chapter VIII.

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Early Contact with Romans

travelers and traders, their first acquaintance with the Germans came through warfare. This began when the northern tribes made their invasion of southern and western lands in 113 B.C. Then the Cimbri and Teutons came down from the north with their women and children and all their property, and defeated a Roman consul at Noreia near the river Drave, in what is now German Austria. They did not follow up their victory nor enter Roman territory for some years, but moved westward instead. Twelve years elapsed before Rome was strong enough to destroy these threatening barbarians; in the meantime the latter had won three great victories and many tribes along the border had been incited to revolt. The barbarians were finally defeated by Marius; the uprisings on the border were put down, and peace ensued for forty years. During the period of Cæsar's governorship in Gaul there was another great conflict. In 58 B.C. the whole Helvetian people, numbering 368,000, attempted to enter that province, seeking better and more extensive lands. Cæsar finally succeeded in driving them back. During the following years German tribes which had already settled in Gaul were expelled and the frontier of the Roman Empire was pushed forward to the Rhine. Though Cæsar made two expeditions across this river, he intended them merely as military demonstrations and apparently had no desire to extend the Roman frontier beyond the Rhine.

Fortifying the Frontier

For some time after Cæsar's campaigns the Germans remained comparatively quiet, although in 38 B.C. there was an invasion which the Roman general, Agrippa, repelled. The latter then began the policy of establishing tribes of Germans along the border within the Empire; for he hoped that jealousy of the natives on the one hand, and fear of depredations by their less fortunate countrymen across the border on the other hand, would keep the Germans faithful to their Roman allies. Later this policy was carried out very extensively. After other invasions, the Romans built fortresses along the left bank of the Rhine; some of these have grown into important modern towns, such as Basel, Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, and Cologne. Along the southern bank of the Danube, too, the Romans established stations; to this Regensburg (Ratisbon), Passau, and Vienna owe their origin. These fortresses and the excellent military roads which connected them made the frontiers fairly safe.

Under Drusus, in 12 B.C., the Romans attempted a forward movement into Germany. Three campaigns did not result in any particular conquests by the Romans, but did check German ag-

gressions. Later the Romans advanced to the Elbe and placed on its farther bank an altar to Augustus. Other expeditions followed, which impressed the Germans with the power and wealth of Rome. Young chieftains went to Rome to learn Roman ways, and for a while all the northern tribes appeared to be either subdued or won over by diplomacy. But this seeming security was rudely interrupted by the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. He had attempted to introduce Roman methods of taxation and government, whereas previously the tribes had been allowed to manage their own affairs. Arminius aroused the Germans to resistance. Varus was suddenly and treacherously attacked and his three legions were destroyed. In despair he himself committed suicide. This was a crushing blow to the Romans; when the news reached Augustus, it is said that he beat his head against the wall of his chamber, crying frantically, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions." The Empire was not in a position to send out fresh legions and conquer Germany thoroughly; consequently, Augustus, in his testament, advised his successors not to attempt any advance, and the Rhine from Coblenz downward was accepted again as the Roman boundary.

Arminius

The Roman commanders realized, however, that energetic measures were required to avert the danger of an invasion by the Germans. Various emperors strengthened the fortifications along the Rhine-Danube frontier and included within the line of defense the *agri decumates,* or "tithed lands." The latter was the territory which lay between the upper Rhine, the Neckar, and the upper Danube. The fortified rampart which defended this, the *Limes,* which has been known popularly as the *Teufelsmauer,* was probably the work of Hadrian. Trajan conquered Dacia, the country which lay north of the lower Danube, and settled it with colonists, partly as a defense against the barbarians and partly for the sake of its rich mines. Trajan's conquest and Hadrian's fortifications checked the Germans, although there was intermittent fighting along the frontier and Marcus Aurelius had to conduct a long and disastrous war against the Marcomanni and Quadi, when Italy itself was invaded and the Germans defeated only with great difficulty. In the third century there were repeated incursions into the Empire by the Germans, and the province of Dacia was conquered by them. At the end of the century the Rhine-Danube frontier was still intact, but on the farther bank the enemies were numerous and threatening.

Germans More Dangerous

The Romans also found it advisable to admit some Germans into the Empire in various capacities. The captives made in the early wars had been sold as slaves, and, since they were bar-

Germans Among the Romans

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barians, had been employed usually in manual labor. Other Germans, as already noted, had been colonized along the frontiers or had been granted lands elsewhere in the Empire. In the second century one band of Germans was located even as far south as Ravenna in Italy. Later whole tribes were allowed to settle in Roman territory, were granted land, and were enrolled as Roman soldiers; so that in the fourth century the army had come to be composed mainly of Germans. Many of the soldiers had risen in rank and some had become high imperial officials, especially in the fourth century; so that they gained great distinction and married Roman women. The German type of beauty, both in men and women, was much admired by the Roman ladies, and it became fashionable to dye the hair in order to make it resemble that of the Germans, or to wear wigs made of real German hair. In addition, many hostages, usually the sons of chieftains, had been carried to Rome or to Constantinople, where they acquired a knowledge of Roman military methods which later they made use of against the Romans. In all of these ways the Germans had entered into the Roman Empire; and, although it is impossible to make any estimate of their numbers on the eve of their migrations, they formed the main part of the Roman army and held many of the offices in the state.

Romans Among the Germans

Romans, too, had gone among the Germans; of these the traders had been the most important. The chief articles of export supplied by the Germans were slaves, amber, furs, linen, soap, and goose feathers. In return they desired trinkets, such as barbarians have always coveted. Consequently the trade was very profitable to the Romans, especially as the traders probably enjoyed the advantages of the traditional German hospitality. From these men the Germans acquired not only their ornaments, but also some ideas of Roman civilization. After Rome had become Christian, missionaries visited and worked among the Germans, but it was only at a comparatively late date that their labors met with any great reward.[3] From contact with the Roman armies, from the traders and travelers, from their countrymen who returned after living in Rome, the Germans gradually became acquainted with some features of the Roman civilization and had their minds filled with the wonders of the southland, the home and source of so many things which they greatly desired. Consequently, as their knowledge increased, the impetus to invasion and acquisition constantly became stronger.

Prestige of Rome

The Romans had checked the Germans, partly by fighting and partly by paying tribute. Since the days of Marcus Aurelius, if

[3] of Ulfilas, in Chapter IV.

not before, the Romans had paid the Germans to refrain from attack. Many tribes received from the imperial government regular subventions conditional upon their good behavior. But the Romans had relied still more upon the prestige of the Roman name. It is impossible at the present day to conceive of the impression made upon the barbarians by the might and grandeur of Rome. The words ascribed to the aged German chief, when admitted to Tiberius' camp on the Elbe, are probably fictitious, but represent, although in an exaggerated form, the feeling of many a German who had seen the marvels of Rome: "What madness is this of ours, to contend against the unseen divinities, and not humbly seek their presence and make submission to their benign authority!"

Roman Policy

Lastly, the traditional policy of the Romans had been very effective. For several hundred years they had used with great effect their policy of "divide and rule," *divide et impera*. From the time of Cæsar they had employed agents to foment trouble and to prevent union among the Germans. Their desires were well expressed by Tacitus: "This was a special favor and kindness of the gods towards us. They did not even grudge us the sight of the battle. Above sixty thousand men fell, not beneath the arms of Roman soldiers, but, what is grander, for their delight and pleasure. I pray there may continue to exist among these tribes, if not a love of us, at least a hatred of one another, since, while the destinies of the Empire drive us on, fortune can offer us nothing better than the discord of our enemies." It was partly in the pursuance of this policy that German tribes had been settled within the Empire and enrolled in the army. Many a chieftain, like the young Theodoric the Ostrogoth,[4] was employed to fight against his own countrymen. Sometimes whole tribes were thus used. Ammianus Marcellinus says that when Julian felt anxious about possible attacks from the Alamanni, "after considering various plans, it seemed best to the Emperor to weaken them by stirring up against them the Burgundians, a warlike people, whose flourishing condition was due to the immense number of their young men, and who were therefore to be feared by all their neighbors." Such policy as this had held the Germans in check for many generations; but new conditions arose in the fourth century and caused the great migrations into the Roman territory.

[4] See Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRATIONS

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Causes

FOR many generations the German tribes had been moving slowly but steadily southward, toward the Roman Empire. But the advance was never continuous; it was frequently necessary to halt in order to obtain food; when an attractive place was found, a tribe would remain a generation or longer, for they had no definite goal. Eventually the increase in their numbers, due to the proverbial fertility of the German mothers, would force all, or a portion of the tribe, to continue the migration. Even if the population had remained stationary, it would have needed frequently to change its home, because its life demanded a large extent of territory. Unless the forests were ample, game would soon become scarce and wary. As the cattle were pastured on the natural meadows, they needed a wide range. Agriculture was in a primitive stage and the soil was soon exhausted, so that fresh fields were constantly needed. Cæsar had learned, to his astonishment, that the Helvetians had planned their invasion of Gaul because they thought their lands too small—which seemed to him a strange idea. But other Germans in the succeeding centuries felt the same economic pressure and were compelled to seek new homes. They were attracted especially by the more fertile lands within the Empire; many gladly entered the Roman territory as *laeti,* and thus became bound to the soil and were obliged to serve as soldiers when summoned. But there were also other causes which contributed to bring about this migration: the German love of adventure, which is so well illustrated by the institution of the *comitatus;* their desire to participate in the advantages of the Roman civilization and wealth; and the legends which were current concerning the wonderful sunny southern lands; furthermore, whenever one tribe moved, it influenced all of its neighbors, and those who were less favorably situated hastened to occupy the lands left vacant.

In the latter half of the fourth century a new impulse was added, which precipitated the German entrance into the Roman Empire. But, before describing this final impulse, it is well to

Location of Tribes

pause and see what tribes and confederations were menacing the Rhine-Danube frontier. A glance at a map representing the po-

sition of the Germans in the middle of the fourth century will show certain tribes massed along the boundary. To the northeast of the Danube, in the valleys of the Dniester. Bug, and Dnieper, were the Ostrogoths or East Goths. North of the Danube and west of the river Pruth were the Visigoths or West Goths. Extending northward from the Danube, in the country between the present sites of Vienna and Budapest, was the territory occupied by the Vandals. The Alamanni inhabited what had formerly been the "tithed lands," between the upper waters of the Rhine and the Danube, and extended as far south as the lake of Constance. Along the Rhine, north of the river Main, were the Ripuarian Franks. The Salian Franks were living in northern Gaul, just south of the Rhine, where they had been given lands by the emperor Julian. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were living on the coast of the North Sea, and well to the east of them were the Lombards. Lastly, the Burgundians were situated in the region of the Main. There were many other confederations and tribes farther in the interior of Europe; but those named above were the more important of those who were destined to share in the partition of the Roman Empire.

Invasion of Huns

For almost five centuries Rome had been obliged to fight or bargain with the land-greedy Germans. But the new element which entered into the situation rendered her former tactics of little avail. About 374 A.D. a horde of Huns invaded Europe, coming from the unknown lands of Central Asia. The Germans seem to have been panic-stricken by the advent of these savages, "small, foul, and skinny," whom Jordanes says they believed to be the offspring from the union of witches and unclean spirits. The Germans were terrified by their hideous countenances, and even more by the rapidity of their movement. The Huns almost lived on horseback, and appeared suddenly where they were least expected. Their appearance and their habits were equally repulsive. Their faces were seamed with gashes, made in earliest infancy; their noses were broad and flat. Their dress consisted of a coarse linen tunic, which was never changed until it rotted, and "a sort of helmet made of the skins of wild rats patched together." It was believed that they ate their food uncooked, but warmed the raw meat by carrying it between their thighs and their horses' backs. Their invasion and the terror which it caused precipitated the movement of the Germans which resulted in the establishment of barbarian kingdoms within the Empire.

The Huns first fell upon the Ostrogoths and reduced them to subjection. The Visigoths, fearing the same fate, humbly begged of the emperor that they might be allowed to cross the Danube

CHAP. IV and settle within the Roman territory. They had for a long time been in receipt of pay from the Romans, on the ground that they were to protect the frontier on their side of the river. They were probably the most civilized of the Germans who lived outside of the Empire. Some of them had apparently become Christians even before the Council of Nicæa, as a Gothic bishop is said to have attended the council. But the great missionary to the Goths was Ulfilas, who was born about 311 A.D. He had been sent to Constantinople in his youth, probably as a hostage, and had learned the Greek and the Latin languages. He became an Arian Christian and was consecrated as a missionary bishop in 341. Until his death, forty years later, Ulfilas labored to convert his countrymen. For their sake he translated most of the Bible into the Gothic language. Prudently, however, he refrained from translating the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*, which are so full of fighting, "because the nation was already very fond of war, and needed the bit rather than the spur, so far as fighting was concerned." In order to write out the translation in Gothic, Ulfilas found it necessary to invent an alphabet. He took the Greek letters as the basis, and added some forms from the older Gothic runes and some from the Roman alphabet. A large portion of his version has been preserved, especially in the so-called *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala, and it forms a priceless treasure for the study of the early Germanic language and institutions. Through his efforts Christianity was adopted by many of the Visigoths and from them it spread to other German tribes. He taught Arianism and this became the creed of most Germans when they were converted.

Ulfilas

The suppliant Goths, accordingly, were neither wholly barbarous nor absolutely unfamiliar to the Romans. Some of those who had become Christians under Ulfilas' teaching seem to have been persecuted and were allowed by the Romans to cross the Danube and settle in Mœsia. The nation as a whole was now asking to be permitted to follow their Christian countrymen, but their request was granted only after hesitation on the part of the emperor. Before, it had been only a few thousands who had sought admittance; now it was a horde estimated at a million human beings, of whom about two hundred thousand were warriors. Finally, in the year 376, the emperor Valens gave his consent, but ordered that they must surrender all their weapons. Roman troops were sent to guard the Goths as they came in and to see that their arms were surrendered. As the Germans crossed the Danube, in ships, on rafts, in canoes, or even swimming, in their eagerness to escape from the Huns, the Romans plundered

Entry of Visigoths

them. Many a comely maiden was seized upon; many a boy was led away into slavery; wagons were pillaged; but the warriors were carelessly allowed to retain their swords and shields. After they had all crossed, the officials continued to exploit them, and sold them loathsome food at starvation prices. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Romans, "having collected dogs from all quarters, with the most insatiable rapacity exchanged them for an equal number of slaves, among whom were several sons of men of noble birth."

Finally, maddened by their wrongs, the Visigoths revolted and began to ravage the country. The emperor Valens, after some indecisive fighting, attempted to crush them. In a pitched battle near Hadrianople, August 9, 378, "the lines dashed against each other, like the beaks of ships." As the sun rose high in the heavens, the Romans, "who were worn with toil and scarcely able to support even the weight of their armor," were routed. The emperor was slain, and "many illustrious men fell in the disastrous defeat; scarcely one-third of the whole army escaped; except the battle of Cannæ no such destructive slaughter is recorded in our annals."

Hadrianople

Theodosius, who was elected emperor, managed to check the barbarians and to make peace with them. During his reign he favored them, and they, in return, fought loyally for him. At his death, in 395, they mourned their loss in him, "the friend of the Goths." The two sons of Theodosius became co-emperors: Arcadius, aged eighteen, having his capital at Constantinople, and Honorius, aged eleven, having his residence at Ravenna. But the real power was in the hands of two ministers, Rufinus of Gallic birth, and Stilicho the Vandal, who were jealous of each other. At the moment when the Empire was so weak, the Visigoths found a leader in Alaric, who had been an officer under Theodosius and had done good service. Having asked an important command from Arcadius and having been refused, he persuaded his people to revolt.

Death of Theodosius

Accordingly, in the same year that Theodosius died the Visigoths began their migration, which was to last for more than a generation and to extend over a large portion of the Empire. First they invaded Macedonia and Thessaly, passed Thermopylæ exacted tribute from Athens, pillaged the temple of Eleusis, and destroyed Corinth. Since the commencement of their march Rufinus had been murdered by the friends of Stilicho and the latter was all-powerful. He pursued the Goths and managed to pen them up in the mountains of Arcadia, where they could obtain no supplies. Their plight was terrible, as they were encumbered

Alaric in Greece

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with their wives and children and all their possessions. But, either by Stilicho's carelessness or by his connivance, they were permitted to escape. Arcadius was eager to be freed from the menace of their presence, and consequently appointed Alaric governor of Illyricum. There the Visigoths made their home for four years.

In 401 Alaric invaded Italy and defeated Stilicho at Aquileia; later he fought two indecisive battles with the same general, at Pollentia in 402 and at Verona in 403. In spite of this invasion Stilicho again enrolled Alaric and his followers in the imperial service. In 408 the emperor Honorius became distrustful of Stilicho and had him put to death, on a suspicion of treason and of collusion with the barbarians. It is not possible now to ascertain the truth, but two facts stand out conspicuously: when his own life was threatened, Stilicho refused to arm his followers against the emperor; and he alone was strong enough to hold the barbarians in check.

Death of Stilicho

Immediately upon the news of Stilicho's death Alaric began his final invasion, "to penetrate to the City." He advanced practically without opposition, while Honorius ingloriously remained in the impregnable city of Ravenna; all supplies were cut off from Rome and the citizens died by thousands. As no aid came, the Romans sought terms of surrender. Their messengers at first took a haughty tone and threatened that unless easy conditions were offered them the whole people in their desperation would throw themselves upon the Goths. Alaric is said to have answered: "The thicker the hay, the easier to mow." He finally consented to accept a ransom of five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand robes of silk, three thousand hides dyed scarlet, and three thousand pounds of pepper. After a partial payment had been made, Alaric withdrew to Etruria and began to negotiate with Honorius. Apparently he desired to obtain a high military command in the Empire, to receive an annual subsidy of grain and money, and to be recognized as the ruler of the country around the head of the Adriatic. As Honorius refused, Alaric again moved on Rome and seized Ostia. Rome was dependent upon this port for its food supply from Africa, and the senate was soon willing to agree to revolt against the powerless Honorius and to accept a new emperor, nominated by Alaric. The count of Africa, however, remained faithful to Honorius and would send no corn to Rome. His action soon caused a famine in the city, and the citizens began to grumble against the new emperor. As Honorius showed a willingness to treat with Alaric, the latter publicly degraded his puppet-emperor,

who had shown himself entirely inefficient. But Honorius failed to meet his terms, so Alaric again set out for Rome, and captured the city in August, 410 A.D. For a few days the conquerors pillaged; many Romans were killed and many houses burnt; but the Visigoths respected the principal churches, which served as places of refuge, and they frequently showed mercy to captives.

Capture of Rome

The capture of Rome does not appear to have deeply disturbed Honorius, who seems to have been incapable of any deeper emotions than fear and jealousy; but it made a profound impression upon other Romans. St. Jerome from his hermit cell wrote despairingly to his friends, and seized upon the occasion to emphasize his favorite ideas concerning the necessity of asceticism. Many pagans had attributed the fate of Rome to the anger of the gods whose altars had been deserted for the Christian temples. To answer these critics St. Augustine, as he himself said, "inflamed with zeal for the Lord's house, determined to write a treatise on *The City of God,* in order to refute the mistakes of some and the blasphemies of others." His central idea was: "The City of God abideth forever, though the greatest city of the world has fallen in ruin." This book and this idea were destined to have a mighty influence on medieval thought.

Augustine's City of God

After the sack of Rome the Visigoths moved southward to the extreme end of the peninsula. Possibly Alaric intended to conquer Africa, realizing that its grain supplies were the chief source of Honorius' strength. But his fleet was destroyed in a storm, and shortly after he fell ill and died.[1] His brother, Athaulf, was raised upon a shield and proclaimed king. He led the Goths northward, and two years later they left Italy and passed into Gaul. Here, as so often in the history of the migrations, it is wasted effort to attempt to ascertain the reasons for their movements. They passed through southern Gaul into Spain; fought there, nominally as soldiers of the Empire, against German invaders who had entered Spain while the Goths were dwelling in Illyricum. Then they recrossed the Pyrenees and established a kingdom having its capital at Toulouse and extending as far north as the river Loire. From this time, Spain and southern Gaul were held by barbarians independent of the emperor, although they sometimes professed to be his soldiers.

Later Migrations of Visigoths

One romance, which the historical novelist curiously enough seems to have overlooked, stands forth conspicuously from this dark background and illustrates some features of the age. Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, was captured in one of the sieges

Galla Placidia

[1] The oft-quoted account of his burial is from a later source and probably is wholly legendary.

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of Rome and held as a hostage. She was well treated, but was obliged to accompany the Visigoths in their march southward. Alaric attempted to extort favorable terms from Honorius as a condition of her return. After Alaric's death, his brother Athaulf fell in love with Placidia, and they were eventually married. But a year later Placidia was left a widow by the murder of her husband. She was treated with great ignominy by his successor, who, fortunately for her, lived only a few days. By the next Gothic ruler she was restored to her brother, and then she married a former suitor, a Roman general. By him she became the mother of Valentinian III. Her husband died after four years of married life and after six months as co-emperor with Honorius. After the death of the latter and the brief reign of a usurper, Valentinian was declared emperor, and, as he was only seven years old, Galla Placidia became regent. For the next twenty-five years, from 425 to 450, she was the actual ruler in the West. This is her story in barest outline, as drawn from the contemporary annals and documents.[2]

When Alaric began the invasion of Italy, Stilicho summoned for its defense many of the troops stationed along the Rhine and the Danube. This left these frontiers comparatively undefended,

Vandals

so that the Vandals, who were occupying Pannonia and had already been excited by the success of Alaric, seized upon the opportunity. They crossed the Danube in 406 and marched to the northwest. They were accompanied by a mixed host composed of Germans from other tribes and some non-Germans. They crossed the Rhine near Mainz and invaded Gaul. Thence they marched into Spain, and they were the Germans with whom the Visigoths fought there, as we have already seen. The Vandals, vanquished, had to yield much of Spain to their foes, but they regained the South and made it their home till 428 or 429. Then, under the leadership of Gaiseric, they invaded Africa. Before crossing the straits, Gaiseric ordered an enumeration to be made of all the males, from old men in their dotage to the new-born babes, and found that the total was eighty thousand.[3] Probably about half of these could be counted upon for fighting. The host was, as usual, accompanied by its women and children.

Conquest of Africa

Roman Africa was too weak to defend itself. The two chief

[2] The body of Placidia was embalmed and placed in a tomb in Ravenna, seated upright in her royal robes. For over a thousand years the empress could be seen there, through a hole in the tomb. Unfortunately some children with a torch accidentally set fire to the body, which was soon reduced to ashes. Hodgkin: Italy and Her Invaders, Vol. I, p. 888.

[3] Possibly the 80,000 included all the people; all such numerical statements are very untrustworthy.

officials were jealous of each other, and one of them is said to have invited the Vandals. The Christians were divided into mutually hostile sects, and there had been much persecution by the dominant party. The inhabitants as a whole were peaceful, pleasure-loving, and corrupt. The Moors joined with the army of Vandals, and the latter gradually acquired possession of the various provinces. Hippo was besieged, and there the aged Augustine preached to and comforted his fellow-Christians during the siege, and continued his work on a refutation of the Pelagian heresy. After fourteen months the barbarians had to raise the siege on account of famine; but Augustine had died before seeing the deliverance of his city. In 439 the Vandals captured Carthage and were masters of all the old Roman province of Africa. They seized such lands as they wanted and imposed heavy taxes upon the wealthy. They were Arians and persecuted the Catholics, whose churches were frequently destroyed or else handed over to the Arian congregations. But, according to Salvian's statement, the Vandals purified the morals of the inhabitants, and it is evident that they did not oppress the poor any more severely than the Roman magistrates had done.

The Vandals soon took to seafaring and became noted pirates. Each year they went forth on their raids "against the people with whom God was wroth," as Gaiseric said. They devastated many portions of the neighboring shores, and in 455 they made a raid upon Rome. They had been invited by the empress Eudocia, who, after the murder of her husband, had been forced to marry his successor and was eager for revenge. Gaiseric found the city defenseless, but Pope Leo met him outside the gates and attemped to restrain his fury. He yielded somewhat to the pope's intercession, and promised that there should be no torture, no murder, and no arson. For fourteen days the Vandals ransacked the city, taking all the treasure they could find and many works of art. They were eager for booty, but did little wanton damage. At the end of the fortnight they set sail for Carthage with their plunder, with countless Roman captives destined to be sold into slavery, and with Eudocia and her two daughters. Later, the elder of the daughters was married to Gaiseric's son.

Capture of Rome

Gaiseric, who lived until 477, was an able although cruel ruler. Before his reign the Vandals had been regarded by the other Germans as a comparatively weak race, and after his death they appear to have degenerated rapidly. Probably their decline was due to the enervating climate and the vices which they had learned from their contact with the Roman population. Whether this is the true explanation or not, about sixty years after Gaiseric's

Later History of Vandals

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death, the Roman general, Belisarius, was able to conquer them in a single campaign and with comparatively little fighting. Roman Africa was restored to the Empire in 534, and the Vandals, amalgamated with the Roman population, passed away as a historic race. The words "vandal" and "vandalism" are current in our modern tongues, and represent the race in a somewhat unjust light. They were no greater pirates than the Saxons. Their sack of Rome was probably accompanied by less barbarism than the preceding capture by the Visigoths. When Justinian re-introduced Roman methods of taxation into Africa, the inhabitants regretted the easy rule of the Vandals. The opprobrium connected with their name is mainly an aftermath of their persecution of the Catholics, whom Gaiseric hated bitterly.

Weakness of Empire

The invasions of the Visigoths and Vandals illustrate the weakness of the Roman Empire. The fact that their hosts, impeded by their women and old men and children, and by the possessions which they must transport, could wander about at pleasure for so many years without experiencing any effective opposition shows the military weakness of Rome. In their migrations one or both of these two nations had passed through almost all the European portions of the Empire except Britain. They had often settled for years in some district without expelling the natives. The fact that there was room for so many new-comers shows that the provinces were not thickly inhabited. Imperial officials were frequently accused of collusion with the barbarians; the invading chieftains and their successors were frequently given Roman offices. Some panegyrists even complimented the emperors on obtaining so many soldiers for the service of the Empire. Intermarriages were common. These facts show that there was little or no aversion to the Germans on the side of the Romans. The compliments of the panegyrists show that they, at least, did not realize that any fatal blow had been dealt to the imperial power, and probably their blindness was shared by most of their contemporaries.

Burgundians

The invasions of the other German tribes may be dealt with more summarily, as in the main their movements merely reinforce the inferences drawn from the migrations which have been described. The Burgundians had become restive when they saw the march of the Visigoths and Vandals. In order to content them, the emperor Honorius early in the fifth century gave them lands west of the Rhine in the region whose center was the city of Worms. They gradually extended their possessions to the south and west, but in 437 were greatly reduced in numbers by a battle with the Romans. The remnant was allowed to settle about Lake

Geneva and in the valley of the Rhône, and the Burgundians held these lands until conquered by the Franks in 534. It was probably because of their comparatively short migration that they retained more of their old traditions than any other German tribes which entered the Empire. The old German songs of Walthari and of the Nibelungs had their origin among the Burgundians or were preserved by them.

Huns

The Huns, whose coming had set the Germans in motion, were of Asiatic stock. They made no permanent settlement within the Empire, but they repeatedly made incursions and were an important factor in the history of the times. They were pagans and nomads, and they fought wholly for plunder. Their greed was so great that a German proverb declared that if a piece of gold were placed on the grave of a Hun, a hand would rise out of the ground and seize the gold. At times some Huns fought in the service of Rome, but usually they were preying upon the Empire. Under the rule of Attila, "the scourge of God," 434–453, they became united into a strong force. Even before this emperors had paid tribute and conceded lands to other Hunnic rulers. Under Attila's rule the Huns were the terror of all Europe, and many Germans entered his service. About 441 he invaded the eastern provinces of the Empire, capturing and sacking many important cities. Peace was purchased by the Empire in 443 through the payment of a large sum of gold and a promise of annual tribute. The payment was continued as long as Theodosius II lived, but the next emperor, Marcian (450–457), refused to continue the tribute. Attila was then so busy in the West that he had no opportunity to enforce payment. Shortly before this time Honoria, the daughter of Galla Placidia, had offered her hand to Attila. The princess had been led to do this by her own unfortunate position. Years before she had entered into a dishonorable alliance with a man of inferior birth, and her family had never allowed her to forget her disgrace. Now, when they proposed to marry her against her will, she formed the wild plan of an appeal to the barbarian Attila, who already had several wives. He was willing, claimed Honoria as his bride, and demanded from Valentinian III one-half the Roman Empire as the share of his sister.

Attila's Attack Upon West

Attila had two other reasons which led him to invade the West. First, he was in alliance with Gaiseric, who had just provoked the enmity of the Visigoths. Their king's daughter, who had recently married one of Gaiseric's sons, was suspected of treachery. Gaiseric had her ears cut off and her nostrils slit, and sent her back to her father. In order to avert the vengeance of the Goths,

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Gaiseric asked Attila to make war upon them. In addition, two Frankish chieftains had been struggling over the succession, and one was aided by Attila, while the other appealed to Aetius, the Roman general. Consequently, in the great battle which was to follow, Romans and Germans were to be arrayed against Huns and Germans.

The Huns advanced with a mighty host and invaded Gaul. Many towns, including Metz, were captured, and Attila met with no hindrance until he besieged Orléans. He was forced to raise the siege by the approach of Aetius with an army of Romans and Germans. In the battle of Maurica,[4] which followed, the small army under Aetius withstood the enormous horde of Huns, and Attila retreated. This battle, which is commonly called the battle of Chalons, is often regarded as one of the most momentous in all history. "If Attila had not been repelled, western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste, unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day."[5] History, however, is concerned with what actually happened, not with what might have happened if events had been different.

Battle of Maurica

In the following year Attila invaded Italy. Aquileia was razed to the ground; other cities were plundered or forced to pay heavy sums. Venice is said to owe its origin to the fugitives who fled to its mud-banks in terror at the approach of the Huns. Rome was saved, according to the generally accepted account, by the intervention of Pope Leo. Tradition tells how St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to Attila, and how he retreated, stricken with supernatural terror; and, as says Gibbon, "some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi." But a contemporary author also relates that the Huns were stricken with disease and famine and were harassed by troops, so that they made peace. At all events, Pope Leo stands out as the protector of Rome and the mediator with the barbarians. Attila died the next year, and with his death the Hunnic Empire crumbled to pieces.

Invasion of Italy

In the meantime the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had been invading Britain. The Saxons had long been infesting the coast, especially in their hunt for slaves. They were known as especially cruel and ferocious pirates who offered human sacrifices to their gods. After 407, when the Roman legions had been withdrawn from Britain, there ensued a period of confusion during which the Britons had to defend themselves against Picts and

German Invasion of Britain

[4] The exact date is unknown, but it was probably June or July, 451. The place is also unknown, but it was probably near Troyes.

[5] Bury: Later Roman Empire, Vol. I, p. 176.

Scots. The Germans took advantage of the opportunity and gradually made settlements along the coast from which they extended their conquests inland. The West Saxons proved in the end the most powerful of the colonizing groups. The whole period is obscure, as no contemporary accounts have been preserved.[6] The first invasion is said to have been in 449 or earlier; by 600 half of the islands was conquered, and it was held by a number of petty kings. As a result, the cities were practically abandoned, and the roads fell into disrepair; civilization and Christianity almost disappeared.

[6] See Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER V

THE MIGRATIONS (CONTINUED)

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Conditions in the West

IN the western portions of the Empire the weak Honorius was succeeded by the child Valentinian III under the regency of his mother, Galla Placidia. During her rule Italy was not invaded, but, as stated in the preceding chapter, the power was largely in the hands of barbarian military leaders. In Gaul and Spain the Visigoths were acting nominally as soldiers of the Empire. In Africa Count Boniface, who had been true to Placidia, was in command of the province and had great influence with the Empress. His rival was Aetius, a military commander of barbarian descent, who was able but unscrupulous. He had formerly been opposed to Placidia, and after the death of Honorius he had raised an army of Huns for the service of a rival candidate for the Empire. He was pardoned but apparently never fully trusted, and a few years later the emperor attempted to depose him from his generalship, but was unsuccessful. Boniface defeated him in one battle, but Aetius finally conquered Boniface, and, when the latter died, married his wife and obtained his property.

Aetius

Aetius was again pardoned and soon became the chief man in the West. As a child he had been given as a hostage to Alaric, and later to the Huns, with whom he remained on terms of friendship for many years. It was because of his influence with them and because of their military support that he had extorted a pardon from Placidia after his defeat of Boniface. In 435 he had made a compact with the Vandals by which they received large territories within the Empire on condition that they should pay tribute. He had defeated the Burgundians in 437, had driven back the Franks, and had restrained the Visigoths. In his wars against the Germans he had employed Huns in his army. His greatest service to Rome was the defeat of Attila in the battle of Maurica, and this was accomplished by his use of Germans as allies against the Huns. He had mastered the Roman policy of *divide et impera*. Because of his success he might aspire to almost any honor, even to the marriage of his son with Valentinian's daughter.

The emperor feared and disliked his great general, and he was easily persuaded that Aetius was likely to plot against him. Con-

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sequently in his own palace he and an attendant attacked Aetius when the latter was unarmed, and murdered him. The murder did not long remain unavenged. Two Huns who had served under Aetius seized a favorable opportunity and murdered Valentinian. The latter's widow was compelled to marry Maximus, who had probably instigated the plots which led to the murders of Aetius and Valentinian, and now obtained the title of emperor. His unwilling bride is said to have invited Gaiseric to avenge her, but her husband was killed in a riot before the Vandal came.

Death of Valentinian

After the death of Maximus several emperors were chosen in succession, but the real power was in the hands of the patrician Ricimer, who, like Stilicho and Aetius, was of barbarian descent. Until his death in 472 he protected Italy and made or deposed emperors at his own pleasure. After a short interval, Orestes secured the power. He had formerly been a secretary of Attila and had married a daughter of a Roman noble named Romulus. He was not content to be the all-powerful patrician over a puppet-emperor, as Ricimer had been, and decided to make his own son emperor. Accordingly he drove out the nominal ruler, and in 475 bestowed the imperial insignia on his young son.

Ricimer and Orestes

Romulus, the "little emperor," as he was styled somewhat contemptuously, had been in office less than a year when the barbarian soldiers of Orestes revolted. They had demanded a third of the land in Italy and Orestes had refused. His shield-bearer, Odovacar, placed himself at the head of the discontented and slew Orestes. "Entering Ravenna, Odovacar deposed Augustulus, the little emperor, but granted him his life, pitying his infancy, and because he was comely; and he gave him an income of six thousand *solidi*, and sent him to live in Campania with his relations." Odovacar did not set up a new emperor in the West. At his bidding the Roman senate accepted the abdication of the little Emperor and sent an embassy to Constantinople. Their message was that a separate emperor in the West was unnecessary; one emperor was sufficient for the whole Empire; Odovacar was an able warrior whom they had chosen, and they begged that their choice might be ratified and Odovacar appointed patrician to rule the diocese of Italy.

Odovacar

This was what happened in the year 476, and it has frequently been called the "fall of the Roman Empire." This is an exaggeration, for the power had long been in the hands of barbarian generals; Odovacar was the successor of Aetius and Ricimer and Orestes. Ricimer had ruled Italy during more than one interregnum and had held about the same relation to the emperor at Constantinople that Odovacar now desired to hold. There was

No "Fall of the Roman Empire"

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no "fall of Rome"; no "western Empire" came to an end. There was only one Roman Empire, as there always had been, even when there were two or four or six emperors.

Position of the Empire

But the Empire was in a desperate position; Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain were all under the control of barbarian kings. Some were proud to hold titles from the Roman emperor, Odovacar as patrician, later Clovis as consul, but all were independent in their own kingdoms. The emperor desired to bring the German kings into subjection and to regain effective control over the whole Empire. He was not strong enough to do so himself, but he attempted to recover Italy by sending Theodoric to conquer Odovacar.

The new champion was king of the Ostrogoths and had spent ten years of his youth as a hostage at Constantinople. He never learned to read or write, but did become imbued with an admiration for the Roman civilization. For a time he served the emperor, and was rewarded with the titles of senator, patrician, master of the militia, and consul. His people had, after the death of Attila, escaped from the yoke of the Huns and had received lands

Theodoric

from the Empire, but they revolted and Theodoric became their leader. After the Goths had marched to the gates of Constantinople, destroying everything in their way, Theodoric and the emperor came to terms, agreeing that the former was to lead his people to Italy and dispossess Odovacar. Thus the emperor would be freed from dangerous neighbors.

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths set out on their long march to Italy, carrying all their possessions. When they arrived, they found Odovacar with an army prepared to fight; but he was defeated and obliged to retreat to Verona. There, on the thirtieth of September, 489, Theodoric won his greatest victory. In later centuries he became known in the sagas as Dietrich of Bern (Theodoric of Verona), a name which may have been due in part to the memory of this great triumph. Odovacar's army was almost annihilated, but he himself escaped to the impregnable Ravenna. Theodoric's success seemed complete and many of his opponent's followers joined him; then Odovacar raised another army and Theodoric had to take refuge for a time in the strong city of Pavia. In 490 the latter won a victory which gave to him

Conquest of Italy

the mastery of all Italy except Ravenna. This he besieged for three years until famine compelled Odovacar to yield. Soon after peace had been made, the latter was murdered treacherously by Theodoric, who was now recognized as the ruler of Italy; this was in 493.

"The life of Theodoric," says Gibbon, "represents the rare and

meritorious example of a barbarian who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigor of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government." His rule was so excellent that both Romans and Goths were quiescent. He was anxious to unify the two peoples as far as possible, but he realized the necessary limitations. Each had its own laws and customs, and these were interfered with only when it seemed inevitable. A Goth was tried by Gothic law; a Roman, by Roman law; a suit between a Roman and a Goth was tried by a mixed tribunal. The Goths received a third of the lands in Italy, but the distribution was made by Roman officials and apparently without violence. Possibly, also, the land which the Goths received was the share formerly held by the followers of Odovacar. The army was composed wholly of Germans, and eventually the Romans were forbidden to carry weapons; but in other respects Theodoric attempted to enforce equal rights and duties upon the two peoples.

Theodoric's Policy

To accomplish this he needed the services of Romans, and he found many willing to serve him. His secretary, to whom we are indebted for much of our information concerning the government, was Cassiodorus. He was of illustrious descent; his great-grandfather had fought successfully against Vandal invaders; his grandfather had served under Aetius and had been sent as an ambassador to Attila; his father had served Odovacar faithfully, and, after the latter's death, had accepted office under Theodoric. The family had great wealth and influence. Cassiodorus was still a young man when it became his duty to draw up the letters containing Theodoric's commands. Looked at from the modern standpoint, his method of executing his task seems strange, for he was garrulous and delighted in exhibiting his varied and curious learning. But, as a consequence, his letters are valuable sources for the beliefs and ideas of his age. Theodoric, for instance, had to decide what should be done with a murderer who had taken refuge in a church, and Cassiodorus drew up the letter: "We decide that the capital punishment shall be remitted out of reverence for his place of refuge, but he shall be banished to the Vulcanian (Lipari) islands, there to live away from the paternal hearth, but ever in the midst of burning, like a salamander, which is a small and subtile beast, of kin to the slippery worm, clothed with a yellow color. The substance of volcanoes, which is perpetually destroyed, is by the inexplicable power of nature perpetually renewed. The Vulcanian islands are named for Vulcan, the god of fire, and burst into eruption on the day when Hannibal took poison at the court of Prusias. It is especially wonderful

Cassiodorus

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that a mountain kindling into such a multitude of flames, should be half-hidden by the waves of the sea."[1] It must have been a consolation to the murderer to receive such an interesting sentence. Other letters contain information about Venice, elephants, horse-racing, and many other subjects. For the style and language Cassiodorus was responsible, not Theodoric. This fact has sometimes been overlooked in forming an estimate of the latter.

Good Government

Theodoric strove to increase the prosperity of his subjects. He fostered agriculture, repaired the roads, drained marshes, improved harbors, and kept up the aqueducts; for the proletariat at Rome he furnished "bread and games." He gave careful attention to the preservation of the public buildings and monuments, and built new ones; he also patronized literature and the arts. As Gibbon says, "The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years, the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians."

Attitude Towards Religion

His greatness was most conspicuous in his attitude towards religion. He was an Arian, but granted religious freedom to all his subjects. His point of view is illustrated by letters of which he dictated the substance: "We cannot order a religion, because no one is forced to believe against his will." "To pretend to rule over the spirits is to usurp the rights of the Divinity. The power of the greatest sovereigns is limited to exterior police. They have a right to punish only the disturbers of the public order, which is placed under their guard, and the most dangerous heresy is that of a prince who separates from him a part of his subjects simply because they do not believe what he does." Following these principles, Theodoric was indifferent when his friends became Catholics. He gave gifts to the Roman Church, and for many years left it independent, except when a contested papal election caused disorder and bloodshed; then he suppressed the disorder, but refused to interfere further. When Christians persecuted Jews, he forced the former to repair the synagogues which had been damaged.[2]

In his foreign relations Theodoric was successful for a long time. He made matrimonial alliances with the Burgundians,

[1] As translated by Hodgkin, in Letters of Cassiodorus.

[2] Yet in the letters in which Theodoric promised protection to the Jews, Cassiodorus put into his mouth such expressions as, "But, why, O Jew, dost thou petition for peace and quietness on earth when thou canst not find that rest which is eternal?"

Visigoths, Vandals, Thuringians, and Franks. He established the Alamni in Rhætia after their defeat by the Franks. In many ways he exercised a strong influence over the German nations and tried to keep peace among them; he even received presents from tribes living on the Baltic. Jordanes says, with some exaggeration, "There was no people in the western part of the Empire who refused him homage." His position with regard to the Roman emperor was theoretically that of a subordinate: on his coins he placed the emperor's image; in his letters he acknowledged the emperor's supremacy; but in fact he was the independent ruler of Italy.

Foreign Relations

In his last years he sullied his fair reputation by persecution and murder. He suspected Roman nobles of plotting against him, and was incensed at the persecution of Arians in the eastern portion of the Empire. He threatened reprisals on the Catholics in Italy, and forced the pope to go to Constantinople to urge upon the emperor the principle of tolerance. But Boethius and Symmachus were the special victims of his wrath. The former was born about 480, of the noble Anician family. He received an excellent education and used his learning in making translations or adaptations of Greek works. By his labors the logic of Aristotle with the commentary of Porphyry, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the geometry of Euclid, the mechanics of Archimedes, the musical theory of Pythagoras, and the astronomy of Ptolemy, were preserved in part and transmitted to medieval students. He also, following the advice of Plato, entered into the public service, won the favor of Theodoric, and was made patrician and consul. He married the daughter of Symmachus, and his two sons, while still very young, were named as consuls in 522. In the same year he was made master of the offices. These honors marked the supreme moment in the life of Boethius. Shortly after, he was involved in an accusation of treason, but it is impossible now to ascertain exactly what the accusation was, or whether Boethius was guilty. When a senator was accused, Boethius hastened to defend him. "If Albinus is guilty, the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." But when Theodoric questioned him concerning the matter, Boethius' reply was ambiguous: "If I had known of it, you would not have known of it." This might well seem to Theodoric treasonable language when it came from the mouth of one of his highest officials. At all events, Boethius was cast into prison, and to his imprisonment we are indebted for the last great work of Roman eloquence, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, "a golden vol-

Boethius

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at hand on the western side. Meanwhile Alboin, after driving out the soldiers, took possession of everything as far as Tuscany except Rome and Ravenna and some other fortified places which were situated on the shore of the sea." Finally Pavia succumbed; Alboin spared its people and the city became the Lombard stronghold.

Death of Alboin

Shortly after this victory Alboin was murdered, and the famous drinking-cup is said to have been the cause of his death. At a banquet, when flushed with wine, Alboin had ordered the skull to be filled and given to Rosamund to drink that she might rejoice with her lord. The queen had to comply, but plotted vengeance for the insult. She is said to have sacrificed her honor to her revenge and then to have compelled her paramour to murder her husband. "Then Rosamund, while Alboin had given himself up to a noonday sleep, ordered that there should be a great silence in the palace, and, taking away all other arms, she bound his sword tightly to the head of the bed so it could not be taken away or unsheathed, and . . . let in Helmechis the murderer. Alboin suddenly aroused from sleep perceived the evil which threatened and reached his hand quickly for his sword, which, being tightly tied, he could not draw, yet he seized a foot-stool and defended himself with it for some time. But unfortunately, alas! this most warlike and very brave man being helpless against his enemy, was slain as if he were one of no account, and he who was most famous in war through the overthrow of so many enemies, perished by the scheme of one little woman. His body was buried with the great grief and lamentations of the Langobards under the steps of a certain flight of stairs which was next to the palace. He was tall in stature and well fitted in his whole body for waging wars."

In addition to the Lombards and Saxons Alboin had brought with him to Italy many men from various peoples which other kings or he himself had conquered. Whence, "even until to-day," Paul the Deacon writes two hundred years later, "we call the villages in which they dwell Gepidan, Bulgarian, Sarmatian, Pannonian, Swadian, Norican or by other names of this kind." After the death of Alboin no one was strong enough to hold these forces together, and they became divided under the leadership of

Lombard Dukes

thirty-fife or more dukes. "and each duke held possession of his own city." "In these days many of the noble Romans were killed from love of gain, and the remainder were divided among their 'guests' and made tributaries, that they should pay the third part of their products to the Langobards. By these dukes of the Lombards . . . the churches were despoiled, the priests killed, the cities overthrown, the people who had grown up like crops an-

nihilated, and, besides those regions which Alboin had taken, the greater part of Italy was seized and subjugated by the Langobards."

The result was that the possessions of the Empire, about 600 A.D., were confined in Italy to eight widely separated but important territories. On the western coast these included Genoa with part of Liguria, the duchy of Rome, and the duchy of Naples. On the eastern side, the Venetian lagoons with the back country as far as Mantua, the exarchate of Ravenna, the so-called Pentapolis and Decapolis around Ancona, still were nominally, or really, under imperial control. In Umbria there was an important section including Perugia which the Langobards had not seized. Lastly, the whole heel and toe of Italy was still Roman territory.

Roman Territory in Italy

The political and social development of Italy was greatly influenced by the geographical results of the Lombard invasion. The emperor's representative, the exarch of Ravenna, found that it was impossible to govern and protect such widely separated lands. The growth of the political power of the papacy and the genesis of the Papal State were in part the result of these conditions. In what is now known as Lombardy the Lombards formed a large part of the population and introduced their own customs and laws. In southern Italy the population was predominantly Roman and remained under Roman organization. The result was a severance between northern and southern Italy — a difference which has not been effaced, even at the present day.

Divisions in Italy

The Roman Empire never recovered the lands held by the Lombards, and gradually lost even a nominal connection with most of the West. Consequently the end of the sixth century forms a convenient point to discuss some of the causes of the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The problem is a very difficult one. Some causes had exerted a continuous and constantly increasing influence since the days of the Republic. The cumulative effects sapped the strength of the Empire, so that it was compelled to restrict its energies to the maintenance of its rule in the lands which were economically most valuable. Of the causes which necessitated this, four, with their various ramifications, have been singled out by historians as possibly the most important: Christianity, slavery, taxation, and the excessive immigration of barbarians.[5]

Causes of the Disintegration of the Empire

[5] Many other causes have been given. To mention only a few, some writers have stressed economic causes; others, "the state socialism," or malaria, or the loss of man-power, or the loss of virtue. The Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol I, p. 54, says: "The two greatest problems in history, how to account for the rise of Rome and how to account for her fall, never have been, perhaps never will be, thoroughly solved."

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Christianity

Of these four Christianity probably had the least effect, and was actually helpful to the state in some ways after the union of church and state; but in other respects it was detrimental to the strength of the Empire. By the teachings of the church fathers, retirement from active life was honored; participation in the duties of citizenship was considered less meritorious than a life wholly given up to contemplation and prayer. Monasticism was esteemed the highest "philosophy." The woman who remained a virgin was considered to have attained a higher degree of perfection than a wife and mother. Monachism and virginity led to race-suicide among the earnest and devoted Christians, as men and women of strong piety and deep convictions too frequently failed to have children; so that what was in some respects the best element in society was sterile. Moreover, intense interest in theological doctrine caused many keen-minded men to devote their energies to refutation of heresy, instead of endeavoring to discover or proclaim truths in other lines of thought. Much of the barrenness in all branches of learning was due to this exclusive development of theology. What Roman scholarship could still accomplish in other lines is proved by the magnificent legal work under Justinian. But the logic of Jerome, the subtlety of Augustine, the energy of many a noble and learned Christian, were spent in crushing heresy or dissent.

Slavery

Slavery had been recognized as an evil by many a thoughtful Roman. It corrupted the morals; it brought in Oriental vices, which were eagerly adopted; it accustomed Romans to irresponsible cruelty; it increased luxury; it impoverished the citizens, and especially the farmers; it diminished marriages and the bearing of children. These evils are so clearly recognized that there is a danger lest they be overemphasized. Rome was not exceptionally corrupt, cruel, nor luxurious. Modern society in our large cities is guilty of as great waste and as outrageous folly in the pursuit of pleasure as the ancient Romans ever were; but to compare the moral corruption in ancient and in modern society is a task from which the historian may well turn with loathing. It seems probable that the anti-slavery feeling in the nineteenth century exaggerated the effects of slavery in the ancient world by attributing to it evils which were due, in part at least, to other causes. The most serious effects of slavery for the imperial organization were the economic, in limiting production and in encouraging idleness and waste.

Decrease in Population

The Roman population had long been decreasing. Julius Cæsar had noted "an alarming thinness of population." Augustus felt it his duty to remind the senators that "marriage was a duty

which, however painful, every Roman citizen ought manfully to perform." Marriages were too frequently childless, and the population was steadily declining. Then came the plague, in the time of Marcus Aurelius; and its ravages, as described by Roman writers, were almost incredible and were frequently renewed.

Taxation

On this smaller and impoverished population the taxes fell with crushing severity. The state needed ever-increasing sums for its expenditures on the army, for tribute to its barbarian allies and foes, for the support of the imperial courts and the hierarchy of officials. The incidence of the taxation was bad, as the wealthy and privileged secured exemption to a great extent, and the burden fell upon the middle class, "the nerves of the commonwealth," and the poor freemen. The methods of collection were wasteful. Lactantius' statement that there were "more who received than paid" is an exaggeration, but it points to an intolerable situation, because of which many citizens came to prefer barbarian rule. On the whole, the system of taxation tended to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few and to reduce the masses to misery.

Incoming Barbarians

To fill the gaps in the population, to secure laborers, to recruit the armies, barbarians were brought in, or allowed to enter. Rome continued this policy for centuries, and at first it strengthened the state, as is the case with modern immigration. But a time came when the immigrants were too numerous to be readily absorbed by the Roman organization and civilization. The army became wholly barbarian and could not be depended upon to defend the Empire. As noted above, Odovacar secured his position through the imperial army, and the Ostrogoths first came to Italy as servants of the emperor. The Roman stock had been crossed with so many barbarian strains that it had gradually become an alien race in its customs and civilization, if compared with the Romans of the Republic.

The wonderful fact is, not that the Roman state lost its western possessions, but that it so long retained its strength and showed such recuperative ability. There was no "fall," but only a gradual evolution into a new form; no contemporary ever doubted the continued existence of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAPACY AND THE MONKS

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Ostrogothic Control of Church

THE Lombard conquest of Italy furnished to the papacy its opportunity for achieving independence. The Ostrogoths, although Arians, had exercised some control over the popes and papal elections. Theodoric had interfered in the case of a disputed election; he had sent a pope to Constantinople to demand that the emperor should cease to persecute Arians; later he had nominated a pope who was duly accepted. His successor wrote to the senate that "the Church is bound to obey the sovereign, even though he be of another religion, in his choice of a pontiff." Some protests were made, but were not pressed, as the sovereign added materially to the papal power in the city of Rome. In a letter, written about 527, he "ordered that all disputes between clergy and laity should be submitted to the decision of the pope. In case of wrong, a layman must appeal first to the pope, and only if he would not hear him might apply to the secular tribunals."

Evolution of Temporal Authority of Popes

After his conquest of the Goths, Justinian exercised control over the papacy and the Roman Church. "No Roman emperor so nearly assumed the position of a temporal pope." During his reign the church was obliged to submit to his will; it did so, although sometimes unwillingly, because he frequently used the power of the state for the benefit of the church. He gave great authority to the bishops and extensive privileges to the clergy. He recognized and increased the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. But "the bishop of Rome, before entering on his functions, must, like others, await the consent of the emperor or of the governor of Ravenna." Yet the change from Gothic to imperial supremacy had increased the temporal authority of the bishop of Rome. "The emperor was far away at Constantinople, the Byzantine governor held his court in Ravenna, the senate was a pithless shadow. The few subordinate officials who occupied the Palatine were not of such standing as seriously to interfere with him. The pope was the man of highest rank in Rome, and he represented the only Roman institution which yet retained vitality, the only one which in an age of universal corruption and decay continued fresh and vigorous. To the church men looked for maintenance and guidance, and the pope was head

of the church." The invasion by the Lombards accentuated these conditions. The people in Rome needed assistance and defense more than ever, and the emperor and his officials were unable to give aid. The senate at Rome, if still in existence, was of no importance; it was not mentioned in connection with papal elections or treaties with the Lombards. By the close of the sixth century, therefore, the pope was the virtual ruler of Rome and had great power.

Gregory the Great

This result was due largely to the personality of Pope Gregory the Great. He was born of an illustrious senatorial family and received the best education to be obtained in Rome. He adopted law as a profession and obtained rapid political preferment; while still a young man he was chosen prefect of the city of Rome, and his talents fitted him admirably for this position. There was much surprise when he withdrew from the world and devoted his great wealth to the foundation of monasteries. Into one of these, which he established at Rome, Gregory entered as a simple monk, and there spent three very happy years, giving himself up to the most rigorous asceticism. Later, when pope, he wrote: "I remember longingly what I once was in the monastery, how I rose in contemplation above all changeable and decaying things, and thought of nothing but the things of heaven; how my soul, though pent within the body, soared beyond its fleshly prison, and looked with longing upon death itself as the means of entering into life." But, as the pope felt that Gregory was far too useful a man to be permitted to live in his beloved seclusion, he made him first a deacon and later sent him to be the papal representative at the imperial court in Constantinople. Gregory's stay at the capital was prolonged for six years and was very distasteful to him. He did not enjoy the life of the court and spent all the time he could in study, contemplation, or prayer. One fruit of this period was a book which was destined to have great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, his *Magna Moralia*, or exposition of the book of Job. As a commentary on Job this work has comparatively little value; as a storehouse of sixth-century theology it is invaluable. After returning from Constantinople Gregory was elected abbot of his monastery. In 589 and 590 a terrible plague swept over Rome and the mortality was great. In the midst of the visitation the pope died, and Gregory was the unanimous choice as his successor. In such a time of peril the strong man was needed, and, although unwilling, Gregory was forced to accept the office. In their trouble the electors did not wait to consult the emperor, but Gregory delayed his consecration until the imperial assent was given, some six months later. The new pope

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soon became the most important person in the west of Europe. He was a reformer, an administrator, and a statesman. He defended the city of Rome against the Lombards, negotiated with their chiefs, and finally in 599 concluded a treaty of peace which put an end to the war that had been going on for thirty years. He is included among the "church fathers" because of the influence of his theological writings. He was deeply interested in missions and through his zeal Lombard Italy, Visigothic Spain, and Anglo-Saxon Britain were again brought under the sway of the Roman Church; so that from this time on western Europe was held together by the bond of a common faith, and ecclesiastical organization made up to some extent for the lack of political organization.

Progress of Monasticism

Gregory could not have accomplished this, if he had not been ably served by the monks. Monasticism, favored by St. Augustine and the other church fathers, had made rapid progress in the fifth and sixth centuries. Many hermits withdrew from the world and some monastic communities were established in the West. Their life was generally modeled upon eastern customs and adaptations of eastern rules were made for their use. These communities gained in popularity and were constantly recruited by men like Salvian, who felt that the times were so out of joint that a Christian ought not to beget children to lead wretched lives; that the supreme duty was retirement from the world. But, like the eastern, the western monasticism lacked organization.

Benedict of Nursia

To supply this lack was the work of St. Benedict of Nursia. He was born about 480 of a noble Italian family which had furnished many consuls to the state and more virgins to the church. At the age of twelve he was sent to Rome to be educated. He soon became disgusted with the corrupt society in the city, and at fourteen withdrew, in the words of his biographer, Gregory the Great, "learnedly ignorant and wisely untaught." At first he was accompanied by his nurse. After leaving her he found a retreat at Subiaco, a lovely spot in the Apennines, in the midst of "a frightful and terrible silence which was broken only by the cries of the wild beasts." There he dwelt in a cave for three years. A friendly hermit, who was unable to reach his almost inaccessible retreat, let down each day a loaf of bread on a cord, and Benedict shared "not so much the repast as the fast of his benefactor." At first the boy was sorely tempted by the lusts of the world, but he overcame his temptations by rolling in a bed of thorns until the pain from his bleeding and lacerated body stifled all other sensation. Eventually his retreat was discovered by shepherds, who at first thought that Benedict in his clothing of skin was a

wild beast. People soon flocked to him for comfort and advice; other hermits gathered about him and he became their ruler. After some years Benedict found that his work at Subiaco was hampered by the jealousy of other monks in the neighborhood. So he left the monasteries which had grown up and with a few associates wandered on to Monte Cassino. There he found the peasants still worshiping Apollo and had the satisfaction of substituting the Christian for the pagan religion. Many soon came to him to be enrolled as monks, and his monastery became a peaceful, well-ordered community where Roman and Goth, noble and peasant, worked and prayed side by side. There Benedict made his home until his death in 543.

Benedictine Rule

For the government of his monks St. Benedict wrote the famous Benedictine rule, based upon the three fundamental vows of monasticism: poverty, chastity, and obedience. The monks were not allowed to have any property of their own, but were to be supplied amply with all necessities from the common stock. Clothing was to be furnished in conformity to their needs and to the climatic conditions. When they had to go on a journey they were to have better garments than usual; when their gowns became worn they were to receive new ones and the old were to be given to the poor. Bedding, utensils, and other needful objects were to be supplied with a like liberality. Absolute obedience was insisted upon. If an impossible task was enjoined upon a brother, he might humbly suggest the causes of the impossibility. "But if, after his suggestion, the command of the superior continue according to his first opinion, the junior shall know that thus it is expedient for him; and in all love, trusting in the aid of God, he shall obey." The government of the monastery was administered by the abbot, whose will was supreme; but in all important matters he must call the whole congregation for counsel, before making his own decision; in less weighty matters the advice of the elders was sufficient.

Duty of Manual Labor

One of the most important features of the rule was the requirement of manual labor, and of reading or study. For about seven hours each day each member of the community had to work with his own hands. He was expected to do the kind of work for which he was best fitted; skilled artisans worked at their special crafts, and the goods which they made were sold a little cheaper than wares of similar character made outside the monastery; but if a man gloried in his skill he was forbidden to exercise his trade, because humility was considered essential to a monk. In addition to the manual labor, each brother was required to spend two hours or more each day in reading. This provision, in later cen-

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turies, made the Benedictine monasteries the natural homes of learning.

Moderation

St. Benedict did not believe in extreme asceticism and made great allowance for human frailty. At the two principal meals of the day two different kinds of food were to be prepared, "so that if any one perchance may not be able to eat one, he may partake of the other." He believed that it was better to abstain from drinking wine, but because of the weakness of the flesh he arranged that each brother might have a moderate amount daily, and the prior was to judge whether the needs of the place, or the work, or the heat of the summer necessitated a larger allowance. Old men and young boys were not compelled to observe the same strictness about their food as the able-bodied; they were "permitted to anticipate the canonical hours," which probably meant that they could eat between meals. The most ample hospitality was shown to strangers; the rule said: "All guests who come shall be received as though they were Christ." "Chiefly in the reception of the poor and of pilgrims shall care be most anxiously exhibited: for in them Christ is received the more." This noble standard of hospitality was of the utmost importance during the Middle Ages, when there were very few inns and traveling was both expensive and dangerous.

In all ways the rule was admirably adapted for its purpose; but in no respect more so than in the regulations for the admission of candidates. St. Benedict was careful to permit only those to be received who were fit for such a life, and then only after a full year's probation. After enrolment in the community a brother's time was fully occupied with work and prayer and study. The

Good Government

government was strict but tempered to the infirmities of the weak, and the monastery proved an ideal refuge for those who found the life of the age unbearable. It was suited to the needs of the time and performed many valuable economic and social as well as religious services.

Conversion of England

The conversion of England was the work of monks sent out by Gregory the Great, who became interested in English slaves [1] and heard with sorrow, as he says in a letter, "that the English were longing for the knowledge of Christianity, but the bishops of the neighboring country neglected their duty, and would do nothing to facilitate the good work." Accordingly he sent his friend the abbot Augustin,[2] with a number of monks, to introduce Christianity into southern Britain. All the eastern and central portions

[1] The well-known story of Gregory's conversation with the fair-haired *Angli* is probably unhistorical.

[2] Not the St. Augustine, previously mentioned, who died in 430.

of Britain had been conquered by the German invaders. The natives had been subdued or driven out; the Roman civilization had almost disappeared and the land had relapsed into semi-barbarism. Of the petty kings who ruled in the island, Ethelbert of Kent was the most powerful and was overlord of all the southeastern part of Britain. He had married a Christian princess from Gaul and she had brought with her a bishop as her chaplain. The latter had been allowed to hold services in the old Roman church of St. Martin, but he does not appear to have attempted any missionary propaganda.

In 597 Augustine and his companions, with some Frankish interpreters, landed in England. Probably it was at the same place, Ebbsfleet, where the Jutes had made their first landing on British soil. They sent a messenger to King Ethelbert to tell him that "they had come from Rome and brought glad tidings, even the assurance to all who accept it, of eternal joys in heaven and a kingdom without end with the living and true God." Ethelbert met them in the open air, fearing lest in any enclosed building they might get the best of him by magic. Then Augustine told "how Jesus, full of pity, had by his own agony redeemed the sinful world and had opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers." Ethelbert had already heard something of the Christian religion from his wife, and seems to have been favorably impressed by the words of the tall and handsome stranger. He replied: "Your words and promises are fair, but, as they are new to us and I do not comprehend them, I cannot accept them and desert the faith which I and the whole English folk have so long followed. But, because you have come into my kingdom from so great a distance, and desire, as I suppose, to impart to us what you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not harm you, but will entertain you with the necessary food; nor do we forbid you to preach and make as many converts to your religion as you can." This fair-minded pagan was soon converted, and allowed Augustine and his followers to build and repair churches wherever they chose. Augustine was made "archbishop" of the English, and his influence was great in all the lands which acknowledged Ethelbert's supremacy.

Reception of Augustine

Other missionary agencies were already at work in other parts of the island. The Britons in the western part seem not to have abandoned the Christian religion, as they had not been conquered by the Germans. About the time when the Roman troops were withdrawn, Patrick had gone over to Ireland. In the sixth century this island became noted for its missionary zeal and learning. Columba with some Irish compatriots founded the monastery of

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Other Monasteries

Iona, which became a center of missionary work for Scotland and the north of England. Aidan, a monk from Iona, was granted Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, on the coast of Northumbria, and this became an enthusiastic nucleus of propaganda. For a time it seemed probable that Ireland, Scotland, and the north and west of England would follow the Celtic usages and be independent of Rome.

After the death of Ethelbert the progress of conversion in the south was checked by the opposition of the rulers. But about the same time an opportunity in the north was afforded the Romans. Edwin, one of the rulers of Northumbria, had married a Kentish princess. Here, as so often in the history of the Germans, the Christian bride was either the direct or the indirect means of the conversion of her husband and his people. She had taken with her Paulinus, who had been ordained a bishop. Moved by his preaching and the prayers of the queen, Edwin promised to adopt Christianity if he should be victorious on a certain expedition. He was successful, and then a council was held in order to win over his followers. The account, which has been handed down by Bede, the earliest of English historians, illustrates the two arguments which were most convincing among the Germans: the teachings of Christianity concerning the immortality of the soul, and the powerlessness of the pagan divinities. At the gathering, after the Christians had had their say, one of the aged councilors spoke: "So seems the life of man, O King, as a sparrow's flight through the hall when a man is sitting at meat in wintertide, with a warm fire burning on the hearth but the chill rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then, flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it." This poetic expression was followed by the declaration of a pagan priest that he had served his gods faithfully and they had done nothing for him in return; consequently, he repudiated them and hurled a spear against the pagan shrine. As the insult to the heathen deities remained unavenged, the elders assented to the arguments and wishes of the king, and Christianity was adopted as the religion of Edwin's people. A church was built for Paulinus, and this developed in time into York Minster. Because of a wave of pagan reaction Paulinus was forced to return to Kent, but Aidan and his followers from Holy Isle took up the work.

Conversion of Northumbria

By these different agencies most of England had been Chris-

tianized before the middle of the seventh century; but it was still uncertain whether it would eventually accept the leadership of Rome or ally its fortunes with the Celtic Church. Dissensions were frequent when Roman and Celtic missionaries came into contact. The actual points of difference which caused conflict seem comparatively unimportant now; they concerned the date when Easter should be kept, the form of baptism, and the fashion of the tonsure. But the real question at issue was of supreme importance: was England to be in close and constant communication with the churches on the continent and to share in their interests, or was she to remain isolated from the general current of European affairs? The matter was brought to an issue at the Synod of Whitby, in 664. The half-whimsical decision of the king that he would follow St. Peter, as the Irish missionaries admitted that St. Peter held the keys of heaven, lest when he reached the gates of paradise there might be none to open them, gave the victory to Rome, and the Irish monks withdrew to Iona. A few years later, Theodore of Tarsus was sent to England as archbishop of Canterbury, and he organized the whole church on the Roman model. Gradually Celtic customs were abandoned everywhere in England, and eventually in Scotland, Wales, and even in Ireland.

Synod of Whitby

Before this change took place the Irish Church had passed through its glorious period of missionary work. In the sixth and seventh centuries it had been a great civilizing agency, not only in England, but also on the continent. Many Irish monks and scholars worked among the Germans, especially in the Frankish kingdoms. The greatest of these was Columban. He had received an excellent education, for Ireland was then noted as a center of learning; in addition to the classics and sciences he had studied theology and had spent some years in a monastery, in order "that he who was to instruct others might first instruct himself." "He longed to go into strange lands," as his disciple and biographer wrote, "and under the guidance of Christ went to the seashore with twelve companions." He landed on the coast of Brittany, and thence proceeded through the interior of Gaul. He found that "the Christian faith had almost departed from that country, the creed alone remained; but the saving grace of penance and the longing to root out the lusts of the flesh were to be found only in a few." Columban and his associates found favor by their preaching and example and they were allowed to found monasteries. For the sites they chose uncultivated lands where there was an abundant supply of water and of fertile soil, and buildings in ruins furnished materials ready for use. They were especially

St. Columban

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pleased when they could restore a deserted church or convert pagan foundations into a monastery.

At first, in this pioneer life, they suffered from hunger and many hardships. After they had overcome their early trials many converts joined them. Eventually Columban aroused hostility by his fearless denunciations of the king's vices and was expelled, but he was well received by the rival kings and continued his missionary work among the Alamanni and the Lombards. Columban's rule was very strict and his methods were not conciliatory, but for a time the success of the Irish monks was very great. Their monasteries, especially Luxeuil in the Vosges, St. Gall near the lake of Constance, and Bobbio in northern Italy among the Apennines, were long noted as centers of piety and learning. Thus, while the Roman Church was making such progress in England, the Celtic Church was extending its influence in Gaul, and in some places Celtic usages were superseding the Roman. In the middle of the eighth century, however, most of the Irish monks were driven out and their places filled by Benedictines. This was the work of Boniface, an Englishman who had devoted himself to the service of Rome.[8]

Irish Influence in Gaul

[8] See Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRANKS, C. 481–751 A.D.

Gregory of Tours' History

THE early history of the Franks is very obscure. In the latter half of the sixth century Bishop Gregory of Tours wrote a *History of the Franks* which until recently was accepted as trustworthy. Modern scholarship has shown that the good bishop's account of Clovis and his immediate successors cannot be accepted as soberly historical. The *History*, however, is full of interest and throws light upon many a dark point in the civilization of the age. Consequently, in the early portion of this chapter Gregory will be drawn upon freely and his statements will be used to illustrate conditions among the Franks. It would be wasted effort, however, to attempt, from the meager legends, to reconstruct any of the history before the advent of Clovis.

When Clovis became king, about 481, he was about fifteen years old and ruled over only a portion of the Salian Franks, who dwelt in the valley of the upper Scheldt. His favorite residence was at Tournai. His people, who were still pagan and very backward in civilization, were noted for their treachery and perjury. They went into battle on foot, half-naked, armed with javelins, swords, and battle-axes. The first extension of their territory was obtained by the conquest of the Roman lands to the south of their home. Syagrius "king of the Romans," was ruling the valley of the Seine and the country to the south as far as Orléans. This part of Gaul had never been conquered by the Germans and prided itself upon being Roman. But in 486 Clovis invaded it, quickly made himself master of the whole country as far as the Loire, and established his capital at Soissons. In this conquest Clovis had been aided by one of the other kings, who was a kinsman, but the latter received no share of the spoils; in fact, Clovis quarreled with him and slew him because he claimed a portion. A second kinsman, also a king of the Salian Franks, he killed for not aiding him. By treachery or battle he soon destroyed all of his other kinsmen who were, or might be, rulers. "Nevertheless," to quote Gregory, "in a general assemblage he is said to have spoken concerning the kinsmen whom he had himself destroyed: 'Woe is me, who have remained like a pilgrim among foreigners, and have no kinsmen to aid me, if adversity befalls me.' But he said this

Conquests of Clovis

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not because he grieved at their death, but with the cunning thought that he might perhaps find one still alive whom he could kill." In 496 he subdued the Alamanni. He succeeded in obtaining possession of almost all the Gallic lands which the Visigoths had been occupying. In order to curb his power, Theodoric the Ostrogoth interfered and took the Narbonensis and Provence under his protection. The last conquest made by Clovis was the kingdom of his Frankish kinsmen, the Ripuarians. He persuaded the son of an old ally to kill the latter and then slew the son to avenge the murder. Thus in a quarter of a century Clovis by his wars and treachery had become the ruler of almost all Gaul.

The most important event in the reign of this bloodthirsty barbarian was his conversion to Christianity. He had married a Burgundian princess, named Clotilda, who happened to be a Catholic, although most of the Burgundians were Arians. "Queen Clotilda did not cease to urge him to know the true God and leave his idols. But he could in no wise be moved to believe these things till at last he once on a time fell into a war against the Alamanni. When the two armies met, there was a fierce and bloody struggle, and the host of Clovis was on the point of being destroyed. Seeing this, he raised his eyes to heaven, his heart was touched, and with tearful eyes he said, 'Jesus Christ, Clotilda says that you are the son of the living God, and that you give help to those in trouble, and victory to those who put their hope in you: I pray you humbly for the honor of your aid. If you will now grant me victory over these my enemies, and if I thus experience that power which the people devoted to your name claims to have tested, I too will believe in you and be baptized in your name. For I have called on my own gods; but, as I find, they have forsaken me with their help.'"[1] He won the victory and kept his promise; his sister and three thousand of his warriors were baptized at the same time. Clovis was the first, and is said to have been greeted by St. Remigius with the words, "Meekly bow thy neck, O Sigambrian; adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored!"

Conversion of Clovis

The consequences of this conversion were far-reaching. Clovis was the first German king to become a Catholic, as all the other German rulers who had adopted Christianity were Arians. Consequently, to the Catholics under Arian domination, he seemed their natural champion. The bishops of Rome soon entered into relations with the Franks, and their association was destined to become closer in later years. The Roman subjects of Clovis were the more ready to obey him, and even to look upon him as the

[1] Gregory of Tours' account, translated by Burr.

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agent of God, because he was an orthodox Christian. The good bishop of Tours, who wrote the account of Clovis' conversion, sums up his career as follows: "The Lord cast his enemies under his power day after day, and increased his kingdom, because he walked with a right heart before Him, and did that which was pleasing in His sight." Such is the language used by a conscientious and upright bishop concerning a king whose hands were red with the blood of his kinsmen, treacherously slain. The words of Gregory show how the orthodoxy of Clovis induced his subjects to overlook his evil deeds. Probably, if he had not been orthodox, the Greek emperor would not have sent ambassadors to confer upon him the titles of consul and of patrician, and thus make his rule more legitimate in the eyes of his Roman subjects. Moreover, Clovis found in his new faith a convenient pretext for war against any of his neighbors. "I cannot endure that those Arians should possess any part of Gaul. With God's aid we will go against them and conquer their lands."

Clovis, Champion of the Catholic Faith

After the death of Clovis in 511, four sons succeeded him as rulers of the Frankish kingdom. Their shares were very unequal and were not separated from one another by any natural boundaries; brotherly love was entirely lacking and each one sought to aggrandize himself by treachery or force; all were unscrupulous and cruel. Yet, in spite of their wars among themselves, they and their immediate successors greatly increased the extent of the kingdom by conquering southern Thuringia, Burgundy, Provence, and Bavaria. Their intestine wars and the murder of kinsmen were too frequent to be recorded in detail. Chlotar or Lothair, the youngest son of Clovis, had received a smaller share than any of his brothers, but by 558 he had secured the whole kingdom. He was noted, even among the Merovingians, for his cruelty; he had with his own hands cut the throats of two of his young nephews; he punished his own rebellious son by strangling him and burning his wife and sons alive. The Franks felt it to be a judgment of heaven when Chlotar died the year after he had killed his son. This was in 561, just fifty years after his father's death.

Sons of Clovis

The kingdom was again parceled out among his four sons, and again without any regard to natural boundaries. One son died within a few years and his territory was divided among his brothers. From this time the names Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy were commonly used. In the first, the eastern portion over which Sigibert ruled, the inhabitants were mainly of Teutonic stock. Neustria, "the newest," i. e., the most recently conquered, was held by Chilperich, and its population was mainly of

Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy

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Gallo-Roman blood. The southern and southwestern parts of Gaul were ruled by Sigibert, although they were separated from Austrasia by the whole extent of Burgundy. Finally, Guntram's kingdom of Burgundy was an ill-defined territory, and included the valley of the upper Loire and most of the valley of the Rhône. The city of Paris did not belong to any division, but was neutral property into which no one of the brothers could enter without the consent of the other two. Of such a method of division, civil wars were the natural outcome.

Brunhild and Fredegund

The half century which ensued before the kingdom of the Franks was again united under a single ruler is noted chiefly for the strife between Brunhild and Fredegund. The former was the wife of Sigibert and daughter of the Visigothic king of Spain. The latter was the concubine and later the queen of Chilperich. Both were beautiful and able women, with great influence over their husbands. When Sigibert married Brunhild he received a magnificent dowry with her; the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and luxury, and Brunhild's beauty and charm aroused general admiration. Chilperich, animated by jealousy, sought and obtained the hand of Brunhild's sister. He celebrated his wedding even more luxuriously than his brother had done, and on the morning after his marriage presented to his bride five cities. But Fredegund, who had been temporarily discarded, soon regained her sway over Chilperich, who openly brought her back to the palace as his mistress. The queen was incensed at this and threatened to return to her father. Chilperich did not wish to lose her dowry, and, in order to prevent the possibility of being obliged to restore it, had her murdered. From that time, Brunhild's chief aim in life was to avenge her sister's death. Impelled by his wife, Sigibert made war upon Chilperich. The latter was driven from his kingdom, and, in order to regain his power, had to hand over to Brunhild the five cities which he had formerly given to her sister. A few years later Sigibert was assassinated by agents of Fredegund and Brunhild was seized and thrown into prison. There by her beauty and charm she captivated the son of Chilperich and they were married. When Chilperich learned this, he attempted to seize his son, but the latter had himself killed rather than fall into his father's hands. The bishop who had performed the marriage ceremony was put to death by Fredegund. Chilperich in turn was assassinated. Murder followed murder, until finally in 613 Brunhild was betrayed and delivered to Lothair, son of Fredegund. She was accused of having caused the death of ten Frankish kings, and, after having been tortured, she was paraded about in mockery on a camel, and

" then bound to the tail of a wild horse and thus perished wretchedly." Fredegund had died peaceably in 597.

The bare outline of the horrors connected with these two queens illustrates the state of civilization among the Merovingians, but this is still better illustrated by the character and opinions of Gregory of Tours. He was the most important bishop in the Merovingian realm, and it is from his pages that most of the history of the times is gleaned. He was especially able to write an account of the events, as in many he had had an important part. His education was very faulty, but he had excellent sense and a highly moral character. He protected the poor and the helpless; he never shunned danger in the accomplishment of any duty; "between martyrdom and disobedience to the laws of God and the church, he would not have hesitated one moment." As one studies his life the sterling qualities of Gregory command admiration, but his feelings had become so blunted by familiarity with the conditions about him that he told of the most outrageous deeds of cruelty without any apparent revulsion or condemnation. His judgment of Clovis has already been cited. Brunhild, in spite of her crimes, is praised by him, as well as by Gregory the Great; this may be because she favored the orthodox Catholics. It is interesting, and full of significance for the understanding of the times, to contrast with Gregory's attitude the statement of the biographer of St. Columban, whom Brunhild persecuted, that she was "a second Jezebel." Gregory's special favorite among the Merovingian rulers was the "good king Guntram," as he styles him; yet he tells repeatedly of Guntram's cruelty and perjury. Clovis, Brunhild, and Guntram were orthodox and revered the church; in the eyes of Gregory such qualities seem to have atoned for evil life.

Character of Gregory of Tours

The Merovingians of the sixth century were despotic rulers. The old assembly of free men no longer met, possibly because the kingdom had become too large. The government was administered by the antrustions, counts, and dukes. The first were members of the royal household and accompanied the king on his journeys from one royal estate to another, or in warfare. The most important of them was the *major domus,* or mayor of the palace, who was the chief of the household officials and acted as the king's deputy in case of need. The other chief officials were the marshal or constable, who had charge of the king's stable; the count of the palace, who was the king's legal adviser; the treasurer; and the secretaries, who were usually Gallo-Romans. The kingdom was divided into districts, over each of which a count or duke ruled. In Gaul the unit was the former *civitas;* in Germany, the

Administration

CHAP. VII

former territory of a tribe; in each unit the count had legal, financial, and military power as the king's representative, and also had the right to condemn offenders to death. On the frontiers large territories were placed under the command of dukes, who had powers similar to those of the counts, but outranked the latter. Neither counts nor dukes received any salary, but they were allowed a portion of the fines which they levied. This system gave rise to many exactions, as there was practically no check upon the power of the king's deputy in exploiting the subjects under his rule. The union of so much authority in the person of one official made it possible for him to achieve practical independence under a weak king.

After the long strife between Brunhild and Fredegund, the whole realm again, in 613, passed under the rule of a single king, Lothair II, because all the other male heirs had been killed. But the king had little real power and kept his position only by making concessions to his nobles. He was obliged to permit the mayor of the palace to hold office for life and not be removable at his pleasure. His successors gradually became weaker and weaker and are known as the *fainéant* or "do-nothing" kings. The actual power passed into the hands of the mayors of the palace. Under Lothair the chief men in Austrasia had been Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and Duke Pippin. The latter was mayor of the palace and his daughter became the wife of Arnulf's son. The descendants of this marriage, sometimes called the Arnulfings, were the real leaders in Austrasia and finally became the kings of the Carolingian line. But nearly a century and a half was to intervene after 613 before the Merovingians were finally dispossessed. During the first part of this period the kings still were comparatively able, although the mayors were gaining greater power and were sometimes unruly. One actually kidnaped the royal heir in Austrasia and had his own son proclaimed king, but this action was premature and he was tortured to death by the king of Neustria. Much of the power then passed into the hands of Ebroin, mayor of both Neustria and Burgundy, whose authority was so great that he was able to put down all revolts, until he was murdered in 681. The Austrasians then seized the opportunity to rally around Pippin the younger, grandson of Pippin the elder. After hard fighting Pippin finally defeated the mayor of Neustria in 687, and practically ruled over the whole kingdom.

Mayors of the Palace

Pippin, before his death in 714, had reconquered some of the lands on the frontiers which had become nearly independent during the long struggle between the rival mayors. His success gave the leadership in the Frankish realm to the eastern portion, which

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was predominantly German, while the western, as we have seen, was mainly inhabited by the Gallo-Romans. He also aided the church in its missionary labors among the Germans. The Merovingian rulers had been Catholics, but had not been ardent in proselyting except by the sword in the hands of Clovis. The Arnulfings were now to become the great patrons of the missionaries; they aided the Roman Church and in turn were aided by it. Pippin laid the foundation for the close alliance which was to bind together the papacy and the Carolingians and to be so important to both parties. The need was urgent from Pippin's standpoint. He had subdued the Frisians, who had been troubling his lands by piratical raids, but he felt that his conquests would never be secure until the Frisians had become Christians and had abandoned their pagan practices. Consequently, he encouraged the labors of the Irish missionaries, who up to this time had had a practical monopoly of the field. He also sent to England for other missionaries, of whom St. Willibrord is the best known.

Pippin and the Church

Pippin's work was continued by his son Charles, later known as Martel, or "the Hammer." But, as Charles was an illegitimate son, Pippin had willed the succession to his grandson, who was only eight years old. In order to secure the succession for the child, Charles, who was twenty-five years old and already noted for his ability, had been imprisoned. The nobles of Neustria at once took advantage of the opportunity which was offered to them, by the rule of the child, of regaining their independence. They were successful at first; but Charles escaped from prison and soon subjected both Neustria and Austrasia. After a decisive battle in 717, he was recognized as mayor, and thenceforth neither the Merovingian kinglets nor the nobles of Neustria attempted to dispute the supremacy of the Austrasian mayors. In the following year the *fainéant* Austrasian king died. Charles then recognized as king of the Franks the Neustrian king, whom he had previously driven into exile.

Charles Martel

After this, the authority of the Merovingian kings was even less. Einhard, the secretary of Charles the Great, has left a well-known description of them which depicts their position as it was viewed by the Franks of a later generation: "There was nothing left the king to do but to be content with his name of king, his flowing hair, and long beard; to sit on the throne and play the ruler; to give ear to the ambassadors that came from all quarters, and to dismiss them, as if on his own responsibility, in words that were, in fact, suggested to him or even imposed upon him. He had nothing that he could call his own beyond this vain title of king and the precarious support allowed by the mayor of

The Last Merovingian Kings

CHAP. VII

the palace in his discretion, except a single country-seat, that brought him but a very small income. There was a dwelling-house upon this, and a very small number of servants attached to it, sufficient to perform the necessary offices. When he had to go abroad, he used to ride in a cart, drawn by a yoke of oxen, driven, peasant-fashion, by a plowman; he rode in this way to the palace and to the general assembly of the people, that met once a year for the welfare of the kingdom, and he returned home in like manner. The mayor of the palace took charge of the government, and of everything that had to be planned or executed at home or abroad."

Civil Strife

At first, however, Charles Martel had to fight hard to maintain his power. During the years of civil strife after his father's death, many parts of the old Frankish realm had attempted to become independent. In rapid succession Charles had to put down a rebellion in Neustria, to subdue Swabia, Bavaria, and Aquitaine. His most striking military achievement, the defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers, which will be discussed later,[2] did much to consolidate his power over his German subjects. But Charles realized that he must follow his father's policy of Christianizing his subjects, if he wished to establish his rule firmly, and Willibrord, who had been made bishop of Utrecht, was aided by Charles in his efforts to convert the Frisians.

Boniface

The greatest of the missionaries, and the one with whom the Carolingian rulers were to be the most intimately associated, was Boniface. Winfrith, as he was originally called, was an Englishman and had been educated in his native land. He first went to Frisia in 716, when he was forty years old, but found conditions so unfavorable for his work that he returned to England the following year. A year later Boniface went to Rome, and was sent to Thuringia and Hessia. Later he returned to Frisia, where the conditions were now very much improved, as Charles Martel had conquered the Frisians and was ready to support the missionaries in their work of evangelization. After success both among the Frisians and the Hessians Boniface was summoned to Rome and was consecrated as bishop. This visit made of him an enthusiastic champion of the Roman supremacy, and he took an oath to obey the Roman Church in everything and to have no communion with priests who did not recognize the absolute authority of the pope. The latter gave him a letter to Charles Martel which secured for him full protection and assistance. Later Boniface wrote: "Without the aid of the prince of the Franks I should not be able to rule my church nor to defend the lives of my priests and nuns, nor to keep my converts from lapsing into

[2] See Chapter IX.

pagan rites and observances." Secure in the protection of Charles, Boniface cut down Odin's oak near Fritzlar and used the logs from it to build a chapel. His success in Hesse and Thuringia was so great that in 732 he was made an archbishop. A few years later he made another journey to Rome in order to arrange for the organization of the church in Germany. On his return he established bishoprics in Bavaria and eastern Austrasia, over which he placed his own disciples.

The Irish monks who had done so much to Christianize the land were driven out, or converted, by Boniface, because they did not conform to the Roman usages. In place of those who were expelled Benedictine monks were installed. As the number of the latter increased, new homes were found for them, of which Fulda became the most important. This was founded in 744 by Sturmi, a Bavarian of noble birth whose parents had given him to Boniface to be educated as a monk. After the boy had been carefully prepared and had grown to manhood he was sent out to establish a new monastery. At first he settled where Hersfeld now is, but Boniface ordered him to go farther into the wilderness, as he was too near the "wild Saxons." Accordingly, Sturmi set out with two companions in a boat to examine the river Fulda. After a fruitless search he returned to report to Boniface, but the latter commanded him to start out again by land. As soon as he was rested Sturmi saddled his donkey, took the necessary food, and set out alone through the wilderness, to spy out the land. With psalms ever on his tongue he examined the hills and valleys, the springs and streams. When darkness overtook him he stopped and cut logs to build a circular enclosure for his donkey, as he feared that the wild beasts, which were numerous, might devour the animal; then he himself went quietly to sleep, making the sign of the cross in the name of God. Only twice did he see any human beings: once he came upon some Slavs bathing, and his donkey was frightened; once he chanced upon a friendly wanderer, who passed the night with him; the only other signs of life were the wild beasts and birds. Finally he found "the place which had been prepared by God long before." He returned and described its advantages to Boniface, who was delighted. Sturmi settled there with his monks, and the mayor of the palace made them a grant of land eight thousand paces square. Fulda soon had four thousand monks and was made an exempt monastery by the pope.[3]

Fulda

Another feature in the organization of the church was the hold-

[3] An exempt monastery was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese and placed directly under the authority of the pope.

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Councils

ing of councils, where nobles and bishops assembled together under Boniface as presiding officer. At the council of 748 the German bishops swore entire submission to Rome. "We have declared and decreed that we would maintain and protect, until the end of our lives, the Catholic faith and unity, and submission to the Roman Church, St. Peter and his vicar; that we would meet together each year in a council; that the metropolitan should apply to the Roman See for the pallium; and that we would canonically follow all the precepts of St. Peter, in order that we might be numbered among his sheep. We have all consented and subscribed our names to this oath, and have sent it to be deposited on the tomb of St. Peter, prince of the apostles."

Death of Boniface

When the Roman supremacy had been accepted, Boniface's greatest work had been practically completed. He returned to the scene of his early labors, courting martyrdom, and found the death which he had longed for; he and a band of followers were killed by pagan Frisians in 754 or 755. In accordance with his wishes he was laid at rest in Fulda.

Church and State

His work had been fully as important for the state as for the church. The councils or assemblies summoned by the mayor and presided over by Boniface, had brought together bishops and nobles who had taken common and united action for the welfare of the whole kingdom. Charles Martel and his successors had supported Boniface in all his undertakings; he in turn had done everything in his power to strengthen the authority of the mayors of the palace. Together, they had striven earnestly to reform abuses in the church, and to compel the members of the clergy to lead moral lives. The constant aid which Charles and his sons gave to the work of Boniface led the church to resign itself without any very active opposition to the use of its property by Charles Martel for secular purposes. For, in order to raise a force of cavalry sufficient to cope with the Saracens, Charles had used lands belonging to the church: these lands were to be held by his followers as *precaria*[4] from the church, so that their income might enable them to equip themselves as horsemen. By this means Charles had raised the army which won the battle of Poitiers. Later his sons followed a like policy when they needed more soldiers, and the church submitted, under protest, because it needed the aid of the mayors. In 739 the pope sought support from Charles in his struggle against the Lombards. At this time Charles did not send any aid; but the pope's position was so dangerous that he was anxious to bind the Franks more closely to his cause.

[4] See Chapter XII.

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When Charles Martel died, in 741, he was succeeded by two sons, Pippin and Carloman. A third son felt himself slighted and attempted a rebellion. He was captured and imprisoned; but the revolts against the brothers were so serious that they felt it necessary to put in a Merovingian king, although for some years before his death Charles had allowed the throne to remain vacant, and they had been following the same policy. Now they determined to crown the heir of the Merovingian line, who was an insignificant man, but whose name gave a shadow of legitimate authority to the real rulers; and after three years of continuous fighting Pippin and Carloman crushed all rebellion.

Pippin and Carloman

When their position had been firmly established, Carloman withdrew to a monastery. Einhard says: "The causes no man knew, but it would seem that he was truly moved by a desire for the life of contemplation and for the love of God." It is significant of the man's character that he waited until order had been established before carrying out his desires. On Carloman's retirement the third brother again attempted to revolt, but Pippin put this down and "the whole land had peace for two years." Secure, because of this unusual peace, Pippin now determined to make himself king. But, as he was desirous of legal sanction for his position, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask who ought to be king, the Merovingian or himself. The pope replied, "It is better that the man who has the real power should also have the title of king, rather than the man who has the mere title and no real power." Accordingly, a council or assembly was summoned, in 751; with the consent of the nobles the Merovingian king "was deposed, shaved, and thrust into a cloister," and Pippin the Carolingian became king of the Franks.

Pippin Becomes King

CHAPTER VIII

FUSION OF GERMAN AND ROMAN IN GAUL

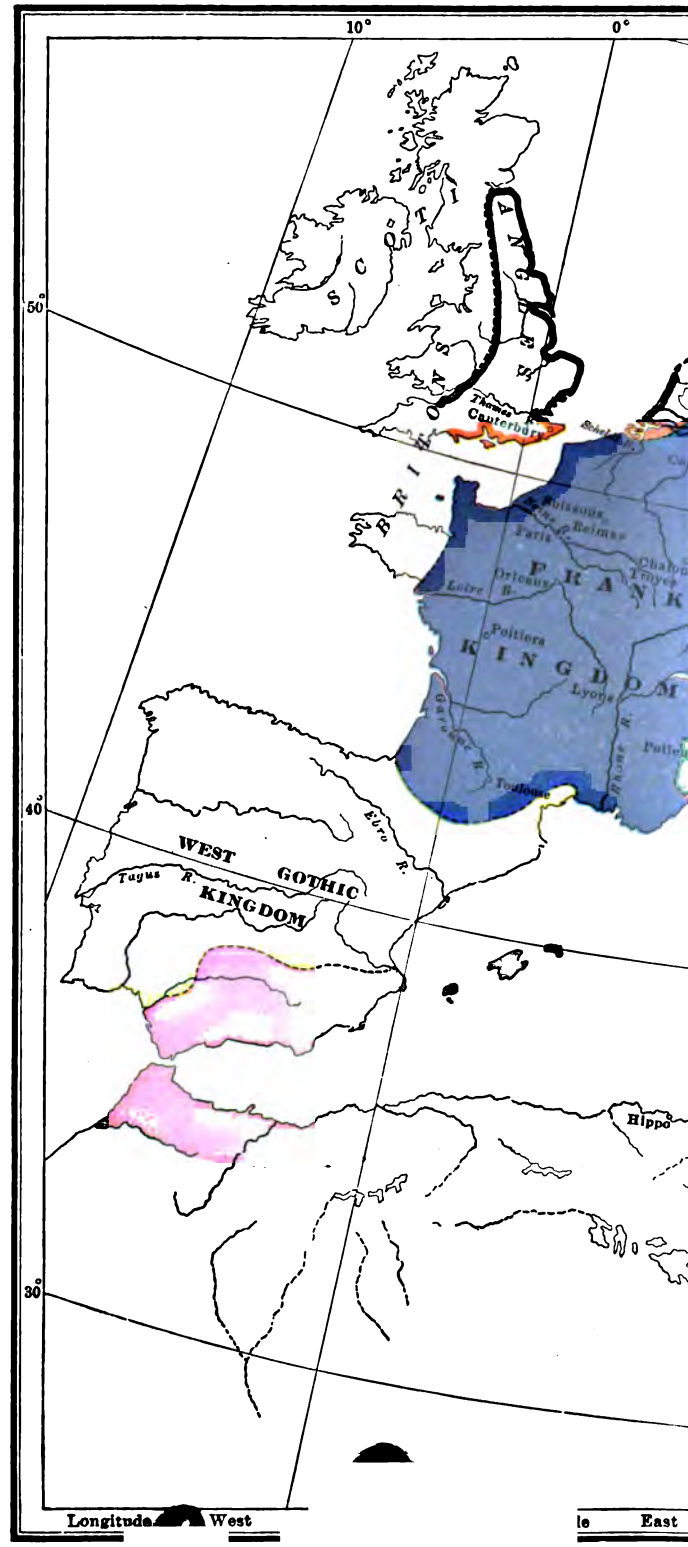
CHAP. VIII

THE manner of living in Gaul in the fifth century outwardly was but little changed from what it had been in the best days of the Roman civilization. The letters of Apollinaris Sidonius depict a highly cultivated and literary society, of which the decadence was not visible to the contemporaries. The writings of Salvian give the dark background of the picture, filled with the miseries of the people oppressed by taxation; his account is undoubtedly exaggerated, but leaves a decided impression that there was need of new blood to regenerate Gaul. The Romans had recognized this dimly, and had admitted individuals and whole tribes into the Empire. As long as the number was so small that the immigrants could be readily assimilated the civilization would be gradually transformed but was in no danger of being overthrown; when the country came wholly under the domination of barbarians like the Franks, the peril was imminent.

Gradual Change

The Germans, however, were relatively few compared with the total mass of the Roman population. They did not like to live in cities; all their habits and customs led them to prefer the country. The urban centers in the *civitas* were mainly left to the Gallo-Roman inhabitants under their rule. The latter were enabled in some cities or towns to continue their existence with comparatively little change at first. Their long training in the duties incident to city management made it easier for them to carry on the various activities after the results of the migrations had removed them from dependence upon the central government. Their new masters interfered but slightly at first with the internal affairs of the city; business and administration were left in the charge of the more civilized race. There was an inevitable decline, which was more marked as some Germans came to live in the cities and became influential. But the importance of the urban centers as elements of permanence in preserving some features of the older Roman civilization was very great. The villa, too, with its working population, frequently continued its existence either under the Roman noble, who had made terms with the barbarians, or else under a German owner who had dispossessed the former proprietor, but desired only the income which the villa yielded. Because

Civitas and Villa


10°
0°
50°
40°
30°
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Thames R.
Canterbury
Paris
Loire R.
Orleans
FRANK
Poitiers
KINGDOM
Lyons
Toulouse
Rhone R.
Ebro R.
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Tagus R.
Hippo
Longitude
West
East

CHAI
VIII

Gradua
Change

Civita
and
Villa

it was almost a self-sufficing unit, it was able to continue its economic life, only gradually evolving into something quite different from its former condition. The agricultural and peaceful handicrafts continued on many estates with little change from one generation to another. The names of many of the places in France still bear testimony to their origin as Roman villas; near Paris, for example, Passy and Clichy are the former estates of the Gallo-Romans Paccius and Clippius.

Roman Law

A third factor which tended to preserve some features of the older civilization was the use of the Roman law. The Germans when they entered the Empire were in the stage of personal law; that is, they believed that a man, wherever he might chance to live, should be subject to the penalties and entitled to the benefits of the law of his tribe. Consequently they let the Romans keep the privileges of their own Roman law in all their relations with one another. The Visigothic king had an official compilation of the Roman law made for the Romans living in Gaul under his rule; this was published in 506, and is usually called the *Breviary of Alaric*. Other German rulers had similar compilations drawn up for their Roman subjects. When the Germans came into contact with features of the Roman civilization which were entirely unknown to their experience, they were inclined to adopt, or adapt, the enactments of the Roman law concerning such subjects. Probably the tendency of the Germans to codify their own laws was due in part to the existence of the Roman law. Several of their codes have been preserved; namely, the code of the Visigoths, of the Burgundians, of the Salic Franks, of the Ripuarians, of the Saxons, of the Frisians, and of the Lombards. They are among the most important sources of our knowledge concerning the habits and the civilization of these peoples.

Church as a Civilizing Agency

The greatest of all agencies in civilizing the Germans was the church. Its organization, which in many respects so closely paralleled the imperial organization, had been founded firmly before the migrations. All the Germans who had not already been converted became Christians soon after entering the Empire. The Franks, because they were Catholics, were especially influenced by the church; and, as their sway was extended more widely, the other tribes were brought under this influence. It was, consequently, the one institution which exercised any real r upon the barbarian kings and leaders, although at tim chafed under its authority or rebelled against it. At f officials of the church were almost all Romans, as some tion was necessary for conducting its service. When the F ish realm was divided into separate kingdoms, the ch

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was weakened. The members of the clergy in each kingdom were considered to be subjects of the king, and were not expected to have any intercourse with the clergy of the neighboring and usually hostile kingdoms. This isolation and partial subjection was one of the causes of the low state of Christianity in Gaul when St. Columban entered the land. This evil was done away with when all of the kingdoms were united under the powerful mayors of the palace. Boniface's work was all-important in unifying the church and restoring its prestige, as well as in connecting it closely with Rome. His labors made it a far more potent agency in the preservation of the older civilization. The missions and councils bound together the churches in the various lands and the more backward sections profited by the presence of missionaries from the more civilized centers. The organization of the church made it stronger and preserved the prestige of Rome, the old capital of the Empire. And in turn the feeling of unconscious reverence for the Roman Empire, a feeling which was shared by every German who had come under the influence of Rome, enhanced the glory of the Roman Church. The members of the clergy, especially the missionaries, did much to bring the Romans and the Germans together; the bishops were the natural intercessors between the Roman population and the German kings; the church edifice was the common asylum for all who needed protection; the monastery welcomed both Germans and Romans as members.

The Latin Language

Latin was the language of the church, and it was also the language of the great mass of the population, although the latter spoke vulgar Latin, which differed widely from the literary Latin spoken by the educated. As the vulgar Latin was the vernacular of the great majority of the people, it naturally supplanted both the rude German dialects of the invaders and the literary language used by a small and vanishing class of highly educated aristocrats. Gregory of Tours makes an apology for the rusticity of his Latin, but is consoled by the fact that the ordinary rustic will understand him better than would be the case if he could write really good Latin. This vulgar Latin became the idiom of all the kingdoms founded by the Germans within the old boundaries of the Empire, except England. Italian, French, Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese are Romance, i. e., Roman, tongues. The variations which are still noticeable between the dialects of various portions of France or Italy are due partly to their isolation from one another when the languages were being formed and partly also to the differences in the number and provenance of the Germans who dwelt among them. But the variations are

far less striking than the resemblances, and all betray, even to casual observation, their Latin origin.

Education

As all education was under the control of the church, Latin was its vehicle. This resulted in the preservation of much of the old culture contained in the Latin literature, and enabled every educated man to profit by any Latin work which he could obtain. The similarity of the language to their own idioms made it easier for the students to acquire the Latin education of the schools. In the early Middle Ages practically all education in book-learning was obtained in the monasteries, or the cathedral schools, or occasionally from clerical tutors. As education was considered to be a function of the church, it was directed exclusively to subjects which would serve the interests of the latter. The old Roman curriculum was retained in part, but it was sadly emasculated. Compends formed the usual text-books and were committed to memory. The instruction was restricted to the so-called seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, which composed the *trivium* or language studies; arithmetic music, geometry, and astronomy, which composed the *quadrivium*, or mathematical and scientific branches. The most advanced students then proceeded to theology, which included the study of the Scriptures and some works of the church fathers.

Certain text-books were generally used and remained in favor for many centuries, so that it is possible to form some conception of the average scholastic equipment of medieval students. The first study was naturally the alphabet, and for this the pupils were given tablets in which the individual letters were written. As soon as they had learned the alphabet, they began to read in psalter books written in large letters. Sometimes they learned to read the psalter glibly without understanding a word of it. After the psalter, *Cato* was the favorite reading book. Who the author of *Cato* was is unknown, but he lived in the third or fourth century and his little book retained its popularity for over a thousand years.[1] It contained about a hundred and fifty couplets, many of which have become common proverbs in the various modern languages. As examples may be cited: the chief virtue is to know how to hold one's tongue; in good fortune beware of evil, as the outcome is often different from the beginning; bear poverty patiently, since you came into the world naked.

Cato

In connection with the reading, writing was taught. Sometimes the teachers seem to have used blocks into which the letters were

Writing

[1] The copy from which I am quoting was printed in 1766 in Germany. It contains the Latin distichs and below, at the bottom of the pages, translations into German iambics, trochees, and dactyls for each couplet.

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cut deeply. The pupil was required to follow the lines in the block with his pen until his hand was accustomed to the form of the letters. After that, or sometimes first of all, tablets covered with wax were used. At the top the teacher wrote the copy and then guided the pupil's hand while the latter formed the letters. Finally, the ablest pupils were given practice in fine writing on parchment; but, as parchment was expensive, many never attained to this height. Double tablets, covered with wax on the inner sides, were sometimes used for letters. The epistle was written in the wax, the tablets were tied together and sealed, thus insuring the letter's remaining unread unless the seal was broken. But writing was a comparatively rare accomplishment in the early Middle Ages.

Donatus

The elementary text-book in grammar was the work of Donatus, who lived in the fourth century and was probably the teacher of St. Jerome. He wrote two books on grammar, the *Ars Minor* and the *Ars Major* or *Ars Grammatica*. The first occupies only twelve pages in a modern printed edition and consists of elementary questions and answers, with some declensions and conjugations. It was highly appreciated in the early centuries and remained in use for several hundred years. Of the larger work only the last book, which treated of rhetoric, was commonly used in the schools. A more advanced text-book in grammar was that of Priscian, which furnished many quotations from classical authors;[2] and grammar when studied from Priscian included some training in literature, history, and mythology.

After they had been *donatistae* or grammar-grade pupils, the bright boys might be introduced to Martianus Capella, who furnished the main stuff of learning in his *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*. This is an encyclopedic text-book, thinly disguised under the form of an allegory, partly in prose and partly in verse. Gregory of Tours praised this work highly as containing all the knowledge needful for education. After a somewhat lengthy account in the first two books of the wedding, each of the other books is devoted to a treatise on one of the seven liberal arts. It is to be noted that geometry included some geography and natural history. While many of the statements seem trivial or laughable, there is much sound learning and exact information;

Seven Liberal Arts

[2] Priscian quotes Homer 78 times, Horace 158, Juvenal 121, Lucretius 25, Ovid 73, Sallust 80, Terence 225, Vergil's Aeneid 721, and Vergil's other writings 146 times. From Priscian many medieval writers learned the classical quotations which they used. The preference for Vergil's writings is especially noteworthy.

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for instance, Martianus knew that the world is round and flattened at the poles.

Comparatively few ever mastered the seven liberal arts. It was the custom of some nobles in the seventh century to send their sons to the monasteries to be educated, but very few acquired more than a smattering of learning. Several of the Merovingian kings were not unwilling to be patrons of learning; and one, Chilperich, who died in 584, invented several new letters which he commanded should be used in all books; but this attempt, like later ones, to improve spelling by fiat was unsuccessful. Among the best teachers in Gaul during this period were the Irish monks, and later the English, under the influence of Boniface.

Education Confined to Few

Roman customs still held sway over many features in the life of the citizens, but they gradually lost control of the administration and finances, and these passed under the power of the counts or the bishops. Some traces of the old organization remained and some usages had been adapted to new ones. All business arrangements and all arts and crafts retained much of the Roman method and skill. It is possible that some of the Roman colleges or gilds, such as that of the boatmen of Paris, continued to exist for centuries, but cities suffered from their isolation and the necessity of defense. The insecurity of travel prevented the carrying on of extensive commerce and each center was thrown back upon itself. For the purpose of defense walls were built around the cities; in order to avoid labor the district to be walled in was restricted as much as possible, and the people crowded together. As the population increased, the necessity of living within the protection of the wall caused the citizens to encroach upon all open squares, and gradually almost the whole space was occupied by the houses. As the latter were built of wood, fires were frequent and very disastrous, and many cities were burned more than once, either by enemies or by accident.

Conditions in Cities

The Germans controlled military affairs, political institutions, and judicial procedure, because they were the conquerors and were interested in those matters. The army was composed almost entirely of foot-soldiers until Charles Martel was compelled to raise a force of cavalry in order to check the invasions of the Moslems. Every free man was required to serve at his own expense when summoned by the king, and any who did not obey the king's summons were fined very heavily. Those who were too poor to equip themselves became dependents of their wealthy neighbors, for the latter were desirous of having a large following, which added to their strength and reputation.

Army

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Political Institutions

It has generally been stated that the Germans brought into the civilization, as their most important political contribution, the public assemblies and elective monarchy. This statement must be accepted with some caution; the public assemblies which Tacitus describes had ceased to exercise many of their functions and the kingship had become so fully hereditary that the father's kingdom was usually divided among all of his sons, and the latter became kings, each over his own inheritance. This was taken for granted among the Franks; and the political institutions of the Merovingians, described in the preceding chapter, are fairly typical of the Germanic kingdoms as a whole. One of the most striking features is the delegation of military, financial, and executive powers to the same official, a count or a duke. This made it peculiarly easy for the count or duke to revolt successfully. Another feature was the assignment to the officials of land from which they might derive an income, in addition to the portion of the fines which they received.

Judicial Procedure

The judicial procedure of the Germans in the case of accusations was very different from the Roman. A charge did not need to be proved; the accused individual must clear himself; that is, the burden of proof was thrown on the negative and the defendant must prove that he was not guilty. As this frequently could not be accomplished, at least by any human agency, they had recourse to divine assistance. They had brought over from their pagan civilization certain customs which had been accepted by the church. In invoking the aid of God, all rested on the conception that He would maintain the right and punish by divine vengeance any one who, when guilty, impiously called upon Him to vouch for a falsehood. When Gregory of Tours was accused of calumniating the queen, he purged himself at three separate altars by performing mass and taking an oath that he was innocent. By this his innocence was fully established in the minds of his associates, and the man who had accused Gregory was severely punished by the king. Relics were frequently used to enhance the value of an oath, and when those upon which an oath was taken were especially sacred, perjury was considered a far more heinous crime than when a man had sworn falsely upon an empty reliquary.

Compurgation

Compurgation, or wager of law, was another means frequently resorted to, when the oath of the accused was deemed insufficient. In the early times the compurgators were kinsmen, but later any one might be allowed by the court to act in this capacity. The number required varied with the rank or standing of the accused and with the gravity of the crime or the importance of the sub-

ject. Twelve, including the principal, was frequently the standard; e. g., if a noble had slain another noble, he must obtain eleven compurgators; if, however, he had killed a free man, he needed only seven in addition to himself; and if he had killed a slave, three; whereas a free man would need eleven besides himself for the killing of another free man, seventeen besides himself for the killing of a noble, and five for the killing of a slave. In cases of great moment a large number was sometimes required; when Guntram declared that he doubted the legitimacy of the child for whom his brother's kingdom was claimed, Fredegund satisfactorily established the paternity of her son by herself taking oath that Chilperich was his father, and by bringing forward three bishops and three hundred nobles to swear that they believed she was telling the truth. Usually compurgation was allowed only when there was no means of certain proof; if the accused were later proved guilty, the compurgators were sometimes punished as perjurers.[3]

Ordeals

Ordeals, by which the judgment of heaven is invoked, have been widely practised in all times. They had been common among the heathen Germans and were accepted as Christian customs, for which elaborate formulas were prescribed by the church. There were many different varieties; the use of hot water, cold water, fire, or red-hot iron seem to have been the most common. In the ordeal of boiling water, a kettleful was heated and in it some small object was thrown or suspended. The water was duly blessed, God was besought to show the right, and the accused was required to take out the object from the boiling water; his hand was then sealed up and left for three days or more. In the interval salt and holy water were mixed with his food. If, at the end of the period, his hand was found to be uninjured he was judged innocent. In the ordeal of cold water the accused, after a preliminary hallowing of the water, was "bound by a rope and cast into the water." If he floated or remained unsubmerged he was considered guilty, for, as Bishop Hincmar claimed, "the pure nature of the water recognizes as impure and therefore rejects as inconsistent with itself such human nature as has once been regenerated by the waters of baptism and is again infected by falsehood." Consequently, to prove his innocence, the man had to sink. In the ordeal of fire the accused seems at first to have put his hand into the fire; later he might be obliged to walk between two burning piles of wood; the severity of the ordeal was determined by the size of the piles and the distance between them.

[3] Compurgation was not abolished by law in England until 1833, although it had fallen into disuse long before.

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The ordeal of red-hot iron might be administered in various forms. A person might be required to step successively upon nine hot plowshares; then guilt or innocence would be determined by the extent and the persistence of the resultant burning. He might be required to walk blindfolded among the red-hot plowshares; if innocent, he would be guided divinely so that he would not touch any. He might be required to carry a piece of red-hot iron for nine feet; after which his culpability was determined by much the same method as in the ordeal of hot water. Other forms were frequently used until the custom was condemned by both popes and lay rulers in the thirteenth century.

Wager of Battle

The third method which was commonly used for determining questions of guilt was the wager of battle, or duel. This defense of one's honor by fighting naturally appealed to a barbarous people, and when the belief that God would protect the right was general, the wager of battle seemed the most satisfactory way of deciding important cases. Under Otto the Great it was used even for a strictly legal question concerning inheritance, and in Gothic Spain for deciding which form of ritual should be used in the church. The custom was widely extended; not only the principals might decide the question by fighting, but the accused might challenge the truth of the testimony of any witness against him and demand the wager of battle. When one party was unfit to participate in the fighting personally, a champion was allowed as a substitute; women and members of the clergy were especially privileged in this respect.

Penalties

When a man was convicted of wounding or killing a person the penalty was a fine, as a compensation to the injured party or his family. When the Germans entered the Empire, they had advanced beyond the stage of "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe," and in the interests of the tribe as a whole were endeavoring to restrict private vengeance and feuds. The various Germanic laws attempted to fix for each offense a sum which the guilty party would be willing to pay and the injured party willing to receive, and thus further strife would be averted. Some of the laws go into the most minute details about injuries; of these the Frisian and, later, the code of Alfred are particularly noteworthy. Alfred the Great copied to some extent the laws of his predecessors, but changed the penalties and made the list of injuries more complete. For instance, he fixed the payment for knocking out a front tooth at eight shillings, a "cheek tooth" at twelve shillings, and a "man's tusk" at fifteen shillings. The values of the fingers were respectively: the "shoot-

ing" or forefinger, fifteen shillings; the middle, twelve shillings; the "gold finger," or ring finger, seventeen shillings; the little finger, nine shillings. The nails varied from one shilling for the little finger to five shillings for the thumb. In the Frisian law each wound was rated according to its length, and, as in Alfred's law, the list of possible injuries is very detailed.

Wergeld

If a person were killed the compensatory payment was called wergeld and varied according to the worth or position of the victim. Among the Franks the wergeld for "a free Frank, or a barbarian living under the Salic law" was two hundred shillings; for a free Roman one hundred; for a Frank who was in the service of the king and for "a Roman who eats in the king's house" the penalties were three-fold the above. If the murderer attempted to conceal the body the penalty was also three-fold. Consequently the fine was eighteen hundred shillings when a free Frank in the service of the king had been killed and the body hidden in a well or elsewhere. A Roman who paid tribute was valued at only sixty-three shillings; while the slaying of a Frankish boy under ten years of age entailed a penalty of six hundred. The penalties for women varied according to their age and condition, their worth depending mainly upon the possibility of their having offspring. Thus a woman who had begun to bear children was valued at six hundred, one who was pregnant at seven hundred, but one who had passed the child-bearing age at only two hundred shillings; evidently the interests of the tribe in having as many warriors as possible was the determining element.

Intermingling

Although the customs and desires of the Romans and Germans were so different, the people naturally intermingled because they were living in the same localities. Even when individual Romans were actually enslaved by the barbarians, their association developed some acquaintance and intimacy and sometimes resulted in the acquisition of new tastes by the barbarians. Gregory of Tours tells an interesting tale which illustrates the possibilities and furnishes a glimpse of the life in Gaul in the first third of the sixth century. Many sons of Roman nobles had been seized as hostages and finally made slaves to the barbarians. One of these slaves had been set to tending horses. His family grieved over his fate, but were entirely unable to accomplish his rescue. Finally one of their faithful slaves offered to secure the release of his young master from slavery, and having received permission went to the place where the latter was held in bondage and caused himself to be sold to the same owner. When questioned he said he was "skilful in cooking everything that ought to be eaten at a gentleman's table." He so pleased the barbarian palate that he

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became highly trusted. After a full year had elapsed, the cook decided that the time for escape had come, as there was to be a great banquet when all the barbarians were sure to eat and drink heavily. At the conclusion of the banquet the chief guest asked the cook jokingly, "When are you going to steal my father-in-law's horses and run away home?" The cook replied, "I am thinking of starting this very night, please God," and they both enjoyed the joke. Soon the two slaves, the cook and his young master, were off with a supply of clothing and arms and driving all the barbarian's horses before them. They were pursued and had to abandon the horses, but succeeded in escaping and finally reached home in safety.

Mutual Attraction

Moreover, Germans and Romans were mutually attracted by one another. Many a German learned to desire the luxuries which could be procured in the cities; many a Roman boy learned to love life in the country. Intermarriages were common. The Romans needed the protection which could be secured from the barbarian king or noble, for the Salic law read: "If any one shall have killed a Roman who eats in the king's house and the deed is proven he shall be fined 12,000 denars, which make 300 shillings." As stated above, this was three times as much as had to be paid for the murder of an ordinary Roman and one-half as much again as had to be paid in the case of a free Frank who was not in the immediate service of the king. The Germans needed the Romans for all callings where education was essential; Theodoric had employed Cassiodorus and many other noble Romans; the royal secretaries of the Franks were usually, if not always, Gallo-Romans. Many of the Roman nobles held office as counts under the Merovingian rulers, and by the end of the sixth century many of the chief positions under the Frankish kings were held by men of Roman descent. At the beginning of the seventh century a Roman became mayor of the palace. By the middle of the eighth century the fusion of the two nationalities was practically complete. In the pages of Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, the Romans are carefully distinguished from the barbarians. In the chronicles of the latter part of the eighth century no such distinction is possible. Then it was a nation of Franks; the Romans and the barbarians had all come to form one society. The same evolution was going on in all the other portions of the Empire settled by the Germans; but in some the process was less rapid. The Lombards in Italy, partly because of their Arianism, remained distinct from the Romans longer than any of the other Germans.

In some features of the civilization the Germans first adopted Roman customs as they found them, and then gradually modified

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them until the result was something very different. In the matter of finance, they seem originally to have levied in Gaul the same imposts as the imperial officials; but they granted many exemptions, and the Merovingian kings finally received no taxes and were wholly dependent upon the income from their landed estates. The latter were managed at first according to the Roman method; the most important change in the early period of the migrations was that the master's home became transformed into a fortress, surrounded by a stockade. Gradually the more advanced methods of agriculture fell into disuse, and the decline in productiveness was very marked. But, on the other hand, in German lands which had never formed a part of the Empire, Roman methods were introduced to some extent and were a great improvement compared with the crude German customs in agriculture.

Modification of Roman Customs

As a result of the long process of fusion, the civilization which ensued was less advanced than the Roman, but far higher than the Germans had known before the invasion. Its different sources and composite character are reflected in many of the institutions under the Carolingians and later, so that it is often difficult to say whether the Roman or the German influence was the more important. In studying the feudal structure of society, for instance, some scholars have derived all of its most fundamental concepts from the German customs, while others have traced the evolution back to Roman institutions. Both are probably right and both wrong, as the feudal usages were shaped by the fusion of Roman and German points of view.

Results of Fusion

CHAPTER IX

ISLAM (TO 750 A.D.)

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Islam

WHILE the fusion was slowly going on in the West under the influence of the Christian church, a new religion called Islam was developing in the distant East, and was winning converts so rapidly that it became a serious menace to both the Roman Empire and the Germans. The rapid rise of Islam is explained, in part, by the geography of its birthplace, Arabia, and the customs and character of the Arabs, as well as by the personality of the prophet Mohammed.

Geography of Arabia

Arabia is a peninsula in the southwestern part of Asia, bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman; on the south by the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden; on the west by the Red Sea; to the north lies Palestine and a wide desert extending almost to the Euphrates; while in the northwest it is connected with Africa by the peninsula and isthmus of Suez. It contains over a million square miles, and is consequently about one-third as large as the United States. It has never been thickly populated, for probably almost all of the country is a desert waste and very few parts are suited to pasturage or agriculture. Most of it is apparently an elevated plateau, covered with shifting sand. All but one of the rivers dry up during several months of the year. Mountain-chains or hills, whose prevailing direction is parallel to the coast, shut out the sea-breezes and cut off the rain-fall from the interior. There are no forests, and comparatively little vegetation. The horses, for which Arabia has long been noted, have to find their food in the extensive tracts of thin desert grass. Some of these statements have to be made tentatively, for Arabia has been only partially explored and the interior is little known.

Inhabitants

The occupations of the Arabs were influenced by these geographical conditions. In the seventh century, the inhabitants could be divided into two general classes: the Bedouins, who lived in tents in the desert, and the dwellers in houses, who were to be found only near the coast in the southern and southwestern parts. The Bedouins were a pastoral people, and made their living chiefly from their flocks and herds. The house-dwellers practised some agriculture and were traders, but remained in close touch with

the nomadic life of the desert. There was no central government; the organization was by tribes. In times of peace the family was the unit; only in case of war did the head of the tribe have any real authority outside his immediate family. Polygamy was the rule for those who could afford the expense. Private vengeance for injuries was the custom, but a feud might be stopped by a payment similar to the wergeld. The Arabs were noted for their vivid imagination and great love for poetry.

Their religion was a mixture of nature-worship and fetishism, although all believed theoretically in the existence of one supreme God, Allah. But the djinns, or genii, were also worshiped because they were believed to act constantly, in manifold ways, for good or evil. Jewish, Christian, and Persian beliefs had penetrated into the country, and each had some devotees. A sacred month was observed by all, and during this time the great fairs were held and no feuds were allowed. Mecca, which was the chief religious center and inviolable, contained the great national sanctuary, the Kaaba, housing approximately three hundred and sixty idols. Among the latter were an image of Christ and also the famous black stone, a meteorite fallen from heaven, which was the most highly venerated object. The prevailing polytheism and influences from abroad were causing both a decay in the sincere belief in idols and a condition of unrest. The absence of a central government and of a national religion were important influences in preparing the way for Mohammed's success.

Religion

The prophet was born about the year 571 of our era. In early childhood he was left an orphan, and his inheritance is said to have comprised five camels who fed on wild shrubs (that is, animals of an inferior quality), a herd of goats, a black maid or servant, and a small house. Little is known of his early years. His utterances in the Koran contain only one reference to this period:

Youth of Mohammed

"Did He not find thee an orphan and sheltered thee?

"And found thee erring and guided thee?

"And found thee poor and enriched thee?"

From the traditions it appears that Mohammed grew up a shepherd boy and later entered the service of a rich widow, his cousin Khadija. He won her love, and at twenty-five married her; she is said to have been about fifteen years his elder. This marriage gave him wealth, position, and leisure.

From childhood Mohammed had been subject to peculiar seizures, and as he grew older the attacks became more frequent. His followers have regarded these as holy trances; Christian writers have called them sometimes epileptic or cataleptic fits, some-

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The Koran

of Mohammed's utterances were in existence, disputes soon arose as to what were the correct forms. Consequently the third caliph, or successor, Othman, 644–656, had an authoritative collection made, and ordered all other copies to be destroyed. This collection has remained practically unchanged down to the present day. It is very badly arranged: the first revelation, which was quoted above, is in chapter ninety-six. In general, the earliest utterances come late in the book, and the later and longer passages come in the first part of the book. There are frequent repetitions and contradictions. While some utterances are very beautiful, the greater portion seems very commonplace in translation. But the orthodox Mussulmans delight in the Arabic original and assert not only that it is of divine origin, but also that it is perfect in both form and content. It has certainly been one of the most influential books in the history of the world and deserves most careful study.

Dogma and Practice

The dogma which it teaches consists in certain beliefs and practices which have had a remarkable and continuing influence on historical events. The Mussulman must believe in Allah, the one and omnipotent God: "He begetteth not nor is He begotten; nor is there one like unto Him." The faithful must also believe in the day of judgment and the resurrection; and in Mohammed as Allah's prophet —" verily they only are true believers who believe in God and His apostle." These are the principal points in the creed, but the Koran also teaches that the Mussulman must believe in the angels, who are mortal and will die on the day of judgment; in the scriptures, which include some Christian and Jewish books, but as the Koran is the final revelation it has superseded these; in the prophets, of whom the greatest were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed; and in absolute predestination —" every man's fate have we bound about his neck." The principal religious practices are four: prayer, fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage. There are five set times for prayer each day: at daybreak, just after noon, in the middle of the afternoon, at sunset, and at nightfall. Prayer is preceded by purification with water, or sand in the desert. Fasting is enjoined during the month of Ramadan and lasts all day long; believers are allowed to eat and drink at night until they can discern a black thread from a white thread by the light of day. Alms-giving was to be of the best of things; " ye will never attain unto righteousness until ye give in alms of that which ye love." A favorite saying of one of the caliphs was: " Prayer carries us half way to God; fasting brings us to the door of His palace; and alms procure us admission." The pilgrimage is to Mecca and must be

made at least once by each believer. But "he only shall visit the Mosque of God who believes in God and the Last Day, and is instant in prayer, and payeth the alms, and feareth God only." The Koran also prohibits wine-drinking and gambling, "abominations of the devil's making"; and eating certain things, especially pork. There are many other precepts governing the daily life and enjoining morality, for among the Mohammedans moral conduct and religion were closely associated.

The yoke placed upon the believers was not a light one and the religion needed a strong leader if it was to be generally accepted. Consequently when the prophet died there was at first consternation among his sincere followers; and many Arabs, especially Bedouins, seized the opportunity to revolt, as they resented so keenly the restrictions and taxation imposed upon them by the new religion. Abu-Bekr, who was chosen as caliph, or successor, had been one of the earliest converts and most sincere believers. At the prophet's death he had said: "Ye people! he that hath worshiped Mohammed, let him know that Mohammed is dead; but he that hath worshiped Allah, that the Lord liveth and doth not die." By his wisdom and boldness he managed to stem the crisis and to reduce all Arabia to obedience again. Then began the wonderful conquests. The Arabs, united into a nation for the first time, under the inspiration of the new religion, destroyed the empire of the Sassanids and robbed the Roman Empire of many of its wealthiest provinces; between 634 and 649 Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and Egypt were subdued and wrested from the Roman Empire. This was due partly to the weakness of the Empire, which attempted no effective resistance; partly to the religious differences and political disaffections among the inhabitants; and partly to the reckless daring and fatalism of the Moslem leaders. Mohammed had taught, "Fear the heat of combats? Hell is hotter! Paradise is before you!" The Arabs among the population of Syria had welcomed their brethren and embraced the religion, and, in general, the inhabitants of the conquered lands found the Arab yoke lighter than the Roman, and seldom attempted revolt. Persia had been conquered with almost equal ease, between the years 632 and 642. It had been weakened by its unsuccessful wars against the Roman Empire, and many of the inhabitants were disaffected on account of the absolutism and incompetence of the rulers. Islam was now dominant from the eastern boundary of Persia to Tripoli in Africa. The Arabs were pushing onward in every direction when their advance was interrupted by civil war at home.

Early Conquests

During these years the caliphs had been chosen from the old

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companions of Mohammed; Abu-Bekr, after ruling two years, had been succeeded by Omar, caliph 634–644; when the latter died, Othman had been elected. Although he had been a believer from the first, he did not have the intense feeling of hostility to the people of Mecca that was held by most of the old believers. He was accused of favoring his kinsmen the Ommiads, who were among the leading men of Mecca and had formerly been opposed to the prophet. This supposed predilection for the Ommiads aroused antagonism and finally led to the assassination of Othman in 656. These internal dissensions, which had checked the advance of the Mussulmans, were greatly increased by the election of Ali, the son-in-law and adopted son of Mohammed, to succeed Othman. Ali did nothing to punish the murderers of the latter and was suspected of having been an accomplice. Civil war broke out at once and the rebellion was led by Aisheh, the widow of the prophet. The fighting lasted one hundred and ten days and there are said to have been ninety battles. It was called "the war of the camel," because Aisheh rode on a camel in directing the revolt. She was finally captured and the war ended. But the Ommiads then began a new war. After some fighting the whole matter was referred to arbitration and decided adversely to Ali. One of the Ommiads was proclaimed caliph and took Damascus as his capital, but Ali refused to submit and held Persia and Mesopotamia. He was assassinated in 661 by a member of a new sect, the Kharijites, who wished to have no caliph, but a democratic government.

Civil War

Ommiads at Damascus

Under the Ommiads at Damascus the rule was much more centralized and the office of caliph became hereditary. The rulers were not religious and were interested in Islam only as a political factor. The "old believers" in Medina and Mecca were much scandalized and attempted to become independent, but both cities were captured by the Ommiad caliph. Most of the inhabitants of Medina were put to the sword, the Kaaba at Mecca was burned, and the rebellion was put down so thoroughly that all Arabia recognized the authority of the ruler of Damascus. The large income which flowed in from the Mohammedan conquests caused a change in the standard of living; luxuries became common and much of the former democratic simplicity was lost; but as yet Islam retained its vigor as a conquering religion and the population soon increased sufficiently to make further advance possible.

The second great period of Mohammedan conquest began in the last decade of the seventh century and continued for about fifty years. The caliph first directed his efforts to Africa, where Carthage was taken and destroyed in 697, and by 708 almost the

whole of the northwest as far as the ocean was subdued by the Arabs. But this was a conquest from the Berbers rather than from the Roman Empire. After the defeat of the Vandals the heavy taxation under the Empire and the persecutions of the Jews and heretical Christians had caused many of the inhabitants to leave Africa. The imperial government was too weak to keep the old inhabitants, the Berbers, in obedience, and the former provinces became more or less independent states, acknowledging sometimes a theoretical subordination to the Empire, but having lost much of the Roman civilization. Christianity had been superseded to a great extent by a mixture of nature-worship and fetish-worship. As a result, although separate Berber states made an obstinate resistance, the Arabs were able to subdue one portion after another, and many Berbers eventually became Mohammedans.

Conquest of Africa

From Africa the Mohammedans passed over into Spain. There the Visigothic kingdom was weak and rent with dissensions; some of the leading men were anxious to see the king defeated and the inhabitants were severely oppressed and ready for any change. Consequently a single victory, in 711, was sufficient to open the whole country to Tarik, who commanded the army, and from whom Gibraltar takes its name. It is said that his forces numbered only about twelve thousand, of whom all but three hundred were Berbers. If this is true, it is a striking illustration of the way in which the Arabs used the subject peoples to extend their conquests. In Spain the Visigothic nobles frequently joined with the invaders. New bands of Arabs or Berbers poured into the country, and soon all the peninsula, except the mountains of Galicia, was occupied by the Mussulmans.

Conquest of Spain

They pressed on across the Pyrenees and began to reduce southern Gaul, until in 732 they met with their first real check near Poitiers, where Charles Martel had led a great host in order to prevent their advance. From the fragmentary accounts of the meeting of the two armies we can glean the main facts; for nearly a week Christians and Mohammedans watched one another, waiting anxiously for the moment of battle; finally the Arab leader attacked; in the heat of the fight the Franks, who had formed in hollow square, were like an immovable ocean; they stood shoulder to shoulder without giving way, as if they were frozen to the ground, and with their swords hewed down the Arabs. Night at length put an end to the contest; in the morning the Franks saw the tents of the Mussulmans deserted, but feared an ambush; finally they sent out spies, who learned that the squadrons of the Ishmaelites had vanished in the night. Later legends embellished their victory and recounted that three hundred and seventy-five

Battle of Poitiers

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thousand of the Arabs together with their king had been killed, while the Frankish loss was only fifteen hundred. Even in modern times the importance of this battle has been greatly overestimated. It was not a very decisive conflict; the Arabs withdrew, but continued their raids elsewhere; in 743, for example, they pillaged Lyons, and they were not expelled from Narbonne until 759. But all further advance was effectually checked by the revolt of the Berbers in Africa, who regretted their lost independence. Their rebellion made it impossible for the Mohammedans in Spain to get any new recruits from the East, as they held the country through which reinforcements must be sent. Unconsciously, they were aiding Charles Martel in the consolidation of his power in Gaul.

Conquests in the East

In the East the Mohammedans had made great advances during this same period; they had captured Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand and had advanced to the boundary of China; they had taken Kabul and had subjugated the valley of the Indus. But they did not succeed in getting possession of Asia Minor, and twice they failed in attempting to reduce Constantinople by siege. The city on the Bosphorus was then, as so often later, the bulwark of Europe. In spite of these defeats the Mohammedan dominions reached their greatest extent under the Ommiads. During the same period the Arabs made a marvelous advance in civilization, but this reached its culmination a little later, under the Persian influence at Bagdad, and consequently will be described in another chapter.

CHAPTER X

PIPPIN AND CHARLES THE GREAT

THE labors of Boniface had been very serviceable to the Frankish kings, and had brought about a close connection between them and the Roman Church. This association was now to bear its fruit for the pope, who was in great difficulties, as the Lombards had conquered Ravenna and were threatening to seize Rome. The emperor at Constantinople did nothing to aid Italy, and the pope was wholly unable to defend the menaced territory. A few years before, fruitless appeals had been made to Charles Martel, who was in alliance with the Lombards and unwilling to make any hostile movement against them. Hoping for better success, in 754 Pope Stephen II went to France to ask assistance from Pippin.

Difficult Position of the Pope

The latter received him gladly. There had been some rebellious movements and Pippin's position was not entirely secure. He desired to strengthen it and to obtain a stronger position for his family than he already had. Consequently Stephen anointed Pippin, his wife, and his children, and forbade the Franks in the future, under penalty of excommunication, to choose a king from any other family. Thus the Carolingian line obtained a sanction which the Merovingian had never possessed: they were God's anointed, and rebellion against them was rebellion against the church. In addition the pope conferred on Pippin and his two sons the title of "patricians of the Romans"; this was an empty honor, conferring no power, and Pippin seems to have set little store by its possession. The pope probably hoped that it would interest the king in the fate of Rome, and begged him unceasingly for protection from the Lombards in return for all the favors showered upon him. The Frankish nobles were opposed to this war, but were finally won over and two expeditions were made, in 754 or 755, and in 756. Each time the Franks were victorious and each time the Lombards, yielding temporarily to force, gave up certain cities, including Ravenna, and promised to refrain from attacking Rome. In 756 the keys to these cities were solemnly carried to Rome and placed upon St. Peter's tomb, together with a deed of gift. This was the famous donation of Pippin. Until the Lombards were thoroughly subdued the gift was of

Donation of Pippin

CHAP. X

little value; but later it served as a very important precedent and helped to influence Charles the Great to make his donation.

Pippin fought other successful wars; he expelled the Saracens from Narbonne in 759; after eight years of fighting he succeeded in reducing all Aquitaine to submission, thus completing the work of Charles Martel; he put down a revolt in Bavaria, and led a victorious campaign against the Saxons. In other respects he showed himself an able ruler and won recognition from the caliph at Bagdad and the emperor at Constantinople. His work prepared the way for his son Charles the Great, whose renown has to a great extent obscured the services of the father.

Pippin's Victories

Pippin left two sons, Charles and Carloman, between whom the realm was divided. Carloman, however, died after reigning only three years; his infant sons were excluded from the succession, and Charles received the whole kingdom. He was obliged throughout his reign to carry on the work, begun by his grandfather and father, of really subduing the peoples who either were nominally under the Frankish rule or else were hostile neighbors. His first war was occasioned by a revolt in Aquitaine which had been so recently conquered by his father; he was successful and the province was firmly annexed. His second war was a continuation of Pippin's work in aiding the pope against the Lombards. This policy was no more popular at first with the Frankish nobles than in the days of Pippin. Carloman had been a friend of Desiderius, the Lombard king. Pippin's widow had been anxious that Charles should marry a Lombard princess. In vain had the pope protested against "this diabolical union"; Charles had married the Lombard king's daughter, but soon repudiated her. About the same time Carloman's widow fled to Desiderius and sought his aid in securing her children's inheritance. He had already reconquered the cities which he had been compelled by Pippin to surrender to the pope, and now he espoused her quarrel. Consequently Charles felt that there was ample cause for war. Early in his reign he had entitled himself "Charles by the grace of God, king and rector of the kingdom of the Franks, devoted defender of the Holy Church, and its aider in all things." When the pope implored him "to succor the church of God, the afflicted province of Rome, and the exarchate of Ravenna, as Pippin, his father of holy memory, had done," Charles was ready. In order to satisfy the reluctant nobles, he proposed terms of peace which the Lombard ruler refused, and then war was proclaimed. Desiderius was soon taken prisoner and confined in a monastery, and Charles became king of the Lombards in 774. At the pope's request he renewed the donation

Donation of Charles

made by Pippin; "granted the same cities and territories to St. Peter, and promised that they should be conveyed to the pope with their boundaries set forth as contained in the aforesaid donation, namely: From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Suriano, thence to *Mons Bardonis,* thence to Parma, thence to Reggio, and from thence to Mantua and *Mons Elice,* and also the whole exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was in old time, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria; and also the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum." If this donation is taken literally it means that Charles gave most of Italy to the pope; as a matter of fact he never relinquished his actual control over the territory included in the grant. The difficulties of reconciling the donation with the actions of Charles have been so great that many scholars have suspected that interpolations were later made in the document. CHAP. X

The conquest of the Saxons, whose lands extended from beyond the Elbe almost to the Rhine, was Charles' greatest military achievement. "No war ever undertaken by the Frank nation was carried on with such persistence and bitterness, or cost so much labor, because the Saxons, like almost all the tribes of Germany, were a fierce people, given to the worship of devils, and hostile to our religion, and did not consider it dishonorable to transgress and violate all law, human and divine. Then there were peculiar circumstances, that tended to cause a breach of peace every day. Except in a few places, where large forests or mountain-ridges intervened and made the bounds certain, the line between ourselves and the Saxons passed almost in its whole extent through an open country, so that there was no end to the murders, thefts, and arsons on both sides. In this way the Franks became so embittered that they at last resolved to make reprisals no longer, but to open war with the Saxons. Accordingly war was begun against them, and was waged for thirty-three successive years with great fury; more, however, to the disadvantage of the Saxons than of the Franks. It could doubtless have been brought to an end sooner, had it not been for the faithlessness of the Saxons. It is hard to say how often they were conquered, and humbly submitting to the king promised to do what was enjoined upon them, gave without hesitation the required hostages, and received the officers sent them from the king. They were sometimes so much weakened and reduced that they promised to renounce the worship of devils, and to adopt Christianity: but they were no less ready to violate these terms than prompt to accept them, so that it is impossible to tell which came easier to them to do; scarcely a year passed from the beginning

Saxon War

CHAP. X

of the war without such changes on their part. But the king did not suffer his high purpose and steadfastness — firm alike in good and evil fortune — to be wearied by any fickleness on their part, or to be turned from the task that he had undertaken; on the contrary, he never allowed their faithless behavior to go unpunished, but either took the field against them in person, or sent his counts with an army to wreak vengeance and exact righteous satisfaction. At last, after conquering and subduing all who had offered resistance, he took ten thousand of those that lived on the banks of the Elbe, and settled them, with their wives and children, in many different bodies here and there in Gaul and Germany. The war that had lasted so many years was at length ended by their acceding to the terms offered by the King; which were renunciation of their national religious customs and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people." [1]

The wars which have been mentioned were due to the necessity of carrying on the work which Charles' father had begun. Of the other wars which were waged one of the less important was destined to live in song because of the famous defeat at Roncesvalles. After an expedition into Spain to aid some emirs who were in revolt against the caliph of Cordova, Charles was obliged to retreat hastily. In the valley of Roncesvalles the rear-guard was attacked by the Gascons and completely annihilated and Count Roland was slain.[2] Possibly this defeat made a greater impression upon the contemporaries because it was never avenged by Charles.

Roncesvalles

Other Wars

For about forty years Charles was engaged in war almost continuously. "He so largely increased the Frank kingdom, which was already great and strong when he received it at his father's hands, that more than double its former territory was added to it. The authority of the Franks was formerly confined to that part of Gaul included between the Rhine and the Loire, the ocean and the Balearic Sea; to that part of Germany which is inhabited by the so-called Eastern Franks, and is bounded by Saxony and the Danube, the Rhine and the Saale,...and to the country of the Alamanni and Bavarians. By the wars above mentioned he first made tributary Aquitaine, Gascony, and the whole of the region

[1] From the contemporary biography of Charles, by Einhard. (Turner's translation.)

[2] He is not mentioned elsewhere in historical documents, but is renowned as the hero of the Song of Roland.

of the Pyrenees as far as the river Ebro. He next reduced and made tributary all Italy from Aosta to lower Calabria, where the boundary line runs between the Beneventans and the Greeks, a territory more than a thousand miles long; then Saxony, which constitutes no small part of Germany, and is reckoned to be twice as wide as the country inhabited by the Franks, while about equal to it in length; in addition, both Pannonias, Dacia beyond the Danube, and Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, except the cities on the coast, which he left to the Greek emperor for friendship's sake, and because of the treaty that he had made with him. In fine, he vanquished and made tributary all the wild and barbarous tribes dwelling in Germany between the Rhine and the Vistula, the ocean and the Danube."[8]

These conquests had given Charles the kingship over many nations and a territory which even before his coronation might be spoken of as an empire. At the end of the eighth century events were ripe for the installation of a new emperor in the West. Every one believed in the continued existence of the Roman Empire and up to this time had looked to the emperor at Constantinople as the head of the Christian world. But Irene had usurped the Empire and blinded her son, in whose name she had been ruling, so that many were unwilling to accept her and considered the Empire to be without a legal ruler. At the same time the pope, Leo III, was greatly in need of a powerful protector. In 799 he had been attacked in the streets of Rome, in the midst of a religious procession, and had been blinded, as his enemies believed. He set out for the court of Charles and returned with the guard furnished by the latter. But the presence of the guard was only temporary, and there was no one in the city of Rome who had a legal right to inflict the death-penalty. Consequently Leo realized that his position amidst his enemies would continue to be a perilous one unless some strong and legal power should be established in the city of Rome.

The Pope's Need

Accordingly, when Charles went to Rome the following year it "seemed both to Leo the pope himself and to all the holy fathers who were present in the self-same council, as well as to the rest of the Christian people, that they ought to take to be emperor Charles king of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Cæsars had always been wont to sit, and all the other regions which he ruled through Italy and Gaul and Germany; and, inasmuch as God had given all these lands into his hands, it seemed right that with the help of God and at the prayer of the whole

[8] From Einhard.

CHAP. X

Christian people he should have the name of emperor also."[4] On Christmas day, 800, as Charles knelt in prayer before the altar in old St. Peter's, Pope Leo suddenly placed upon his head a crown, and the people proclaimed him emperor. If we can trust an account written a little later, they cried three times, "To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving emperor, be life and victory."[5]

Coronation of Charles

His secretary Einhard says that Charles had such an aversion to the pope's action at this time that he declared he would not have set foot in the church the day that he was crowned emperor, although it was a great feast, if he had foreseen the design of the pope. This has been a difficult passage to explain because it raises a question as to Charles' own purpose, which cannot be answered. The pope's action may have interfered with his plans. It was sure to displease the authorities in the eastern Empire. One of the Greek sources says that Charles proposed to marry Irene; this is possible, although Charles was already married. Einhard's statement is probably accurate; if so, the coronation was wholly the act of the pope without any previous consultation with Charles.

Charles' Unwillingness

When he was crowned emperor Charles was about fifty-eight years of age. He "was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall (his height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot); the upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his neck was thick and somewhat short, and his belly rather prominent; but the symmetry of the rest of his body concealed these defects. His gait was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, but not so strong as his size led one to expect. His health was excellent. . . . In accordance with the national custom, he took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase. . . . He enjoyed the exhalations from natural warm springs, and often practised swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and hence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death. He used not only to invite his sons to his bath, but his nobles and friends, and now and then a troop of his retinue or body guards, so that a hundred or more persons sometimes bathed with him.

Description of Charles

[4] Translation from the Annales Laureshamenses, by James Bryce (Holy Roman Empire, Chap. V).

[5] From the Life of Leo III.

CHAP. X

His Habits

"Charles was temperate in eating, and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table, he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden times: he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled *The City of God*. He was so moderate in the use of wine and all sorts of drinks that he rarely allowed himself more than three cups in the course of a meal. In summer, after the midday meal, he would eat some fruit, drain a single cup, put off his clothes and shoes, just as he did for the night, and rest for two or three hours." [6]

His Ideals

He took his new position as emperor very seriously. His ideals are well brought out in the general instructions which he issued in 802. Each one of his subjects who was twelve years old or more was to take an oath of fidelity to him as emperor. Charles defined this fidelity to include living a highly moral life as well as the fulfilment of the ordinary duties of a subject. Throughout the instructions he lays stress upon the maintenance of morality and piety; e. g.: "that bishops and priests shall live according to the canons and shall teach others to do the same"; "that monks shall live firmly and strictly in accordance with the rule"; "monasteries for women shall be firmly ruled"; "no bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, or other members of the clergy shall presume to have dogs for hunting, or hawks, falcons and sparrow hawks"; "the canonical clergy shall observe fully the canonical life, and shall be instructed at the episcopal residence or in the monastery, with all diligence according to the canonical discipline." As these quotations indicate, Charles felt himself to be the head of the church in his dominions and to be responsible for the conduct of its members. By a writer of two generations later who recorded many anecdotes of the great emperor he was styled *episcopus episcoporum*.

Administration

In the general administration of his empire Charles followed and developed the methods of his Merovingian predecessors. He employed counts as his chief officials and he summoned the religious assemblies regularly. His most important changes were the institution of the privy council and the extent to which he employed the *missi dominici*. The latter were used to check

[6] From Einhard.

CHAP. X

counts from abusing their great powers. The Empire was divided into various districts; into each division each year two *missi*, one a layman the other a clerk were sent to represent the emperor and in his name to hold court, to correct abuses, and to inquire generally into the adminstration of the counts. They were required to make written reports of their work. These *missi* performed a very useful service and did much to centralize effectively the authority in the hands of Charles.[7]

the authority in the hands of Charles.[7]

Exhaustion of Franks

Changes in the judicial and military matters which Charles was compelled to make were due to the exhaustion of the free men in his constant warfare. The rule that all should attend the judicial assemblies in their district was a hardship because such assemblies were held very frequently. Charles was obliged to restrict the number to two or three each year. The rule that each free man must serve in the army was also a great hardship for the poor, as they were not only required to furnish their own equipment, food for three months and arms and clothing for half a year, but also frequently had to neglect their farms during the entire agricultural season. Consequently this rule was gradually modified, until in 808 all those who held four *mansi*[8] or more were required to serve in the army; those who held a less amount were obliged to join together in bearing the expense of equipping one of their number so that there should be a representative for each unit of four *mansi*.

Finances

There were few public expenses to be paid by the imperial treasury. As noted above, the soldiers in the army had to furnish their own equipment and food, and there was no navy. The maintenance of the highways, bridges, and other public works was attended to, if at all, by the people of each locality. The administration of justice brought in a revenue, as almost all offenses were punished by fines, of which two-thirds were supposed to go to the emperor and one-third to the count who presided over the court. As a matter of fact, the administration of justice was very venal; one bishop boasted that when he sat as a judge he accepted only trifling presents from the suitors, instead of the rich bribes which other judges were accustomed to receive. But Charles probably did not profit by these bribes. His income consisted almost entirely of the fines levied, of the "free gifts" which his officials were required to make each year, and of the produce of his es-

[7] Brunner sees the origin of the circuit judges of England, and consequently of those of the United States, in these *missi* and the courts which they held during their circuit. But Stubbs and others deny that the *missi* had any influence, even indirect, upon the English institution.

[8] A *mansus* was, according to Platz, 720 rods long and 30 broad.

tates. The last were very extensive and probably furnished the largest part of the emperor's income.

The famous capitulary *de villis*, in which Charles gave directions for the management of his estates, throws much light upon the economic and social conditions. Each Christmas every steward was required to make a statement of all the income and resources of each estate; of the extent of land under cultivation and the waste lands; of the number of pigs, hens, eggs, geese, colts, and fillies; of the amount of hay, fire-wood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of vegetables, wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits, turnips, hides, skins, and horns; of the honey, wax, fat, tallow, and soap; of the mead, vinegar, and beer; of the products of the mines; and of the workmen of various kinds. "Of the food-products other than meat, two-thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, that is of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and in addition of the wax, soap, and other small products." The stewards were to keep up the necessary buildings; to provide, "for the sake of ornament, swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, turtle doves." The chambers were to be provided with "counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron, and wood; andirons, chains, pot-hooks, adzes, axes, augers, cutlasses, and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them."

Capitulary de Villis

One inventory which has been preserved furnishes a useful commentary upon the extent to which Charles' orders were executed. It reads, in part: "We found in the domain estate of Asnapium a royal house built of stone in the best manner, three rooms; the whole house surrounded with balconies, with eleven apartments for women; beneath, one cellar; two porticoes; seventeen other houses built of wood within the court-yard with as many rooms and other appurtenances, well built; one stable, one kitchen, one mill, one granary, three barns. . . .

Actual Conditions

"Vestments: coverings for one bed, one table-cloth, one towel.

"Utensils: two brass kettles, two drinking-cups, two brass caldrons, one iron one, one frying-pan, one gramalmin, one pair of andirons, one lamp, two hatchets, one chisel, two augers, one ax, one knife, one large plane, one plane, two scythes, two sickles, two spades tipped with iron. Enough wooden utensils for use." In addition the steward gives a long list of all the numerous products, garden herbs, and other articles which he found.

Charles was intensely interested in education. "He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them

Interest in Education

CHAP. X

in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them. He took lessons in grammar of the deacon Peter of Pisa, at that time an aged man. Another deacon, Albin of Britain, surnamed Alcuin, a man of Saxon extraction, who was the greatest scholar of the day, was his teacher in other branches of learning. The king spent much time and labor with him studying rhetoric, dialectics, and especially astronomy; he learned to reckon, and used to investigate the motions of the heavenly bodies most curiously, with an intelligent scrutiny. He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill success." [9]

Alcuin was not only the teacher of Charles but also of the palace school, which was attended by the children of Charles and of the leading nobles. Other schools were established and were open to the nobles and to bright youths of humble birth who had shown marked ability. A pleasing anecdote told by the Monk of St. Gall shows Charles visiting and examining the pupils. All who had done well in their work he placed on his right; those who had been idle he placed on his left; when he had concluded the examination all the young nobles were on his left, while those of lowly extraction were on the right. The latter Charles thanked and urged to continue their work, promising them that if they were diligent he would make them powerful bishops and abbots. Then, turning his wrathful glances on the idle, he told them that in spite of their birth and fine appearance they need not expect anything from him unless they mended their ways. The same author says that Alcuin and the other teachers had been so successful that "the Gauls and the Franks were then the equals of the old Romans and Athenians."

Schools

Charles assembled at his court all the learned men whom he could find. Alcuin was from the episcopal school at York in Northumbria; Paul the deacon was a Lombard from Friuli; Theodulf was a Goth and was bishop of Orléans; Angilbert was a Frank; Peter was from Pisa; Paulinus was from Aquitaine; Einhard, who has been quoted so extensively, was a Frank. These men together with Charles and others formed a so-called academy. They assumed names drawn either from the Bible or from the classical authors: Charles was known as David; Angilbert as Homer; Aluin as Horace; others took less pretentious but equally curious names. The members of this academy discussed all kinds of questions and prided themselves upon their

The Academy

[9] From Einhard.

great learning. For the most part they imitated the writings of antiquity; yet their work was not sterile, and the cause of education as a whole was greatly furthered by this earnest band at the court of Charles the Great. CHAP. X

Reform in Writing

The reformation in which the influence of the new learning can be most visibly traced was in the handwriting. The books of the Merovingian age are very badly written and very difficult to read. Charles in a general admonition ordered that all the books used in the church service should be carefully written by men of mature age, because some often desired to pray to God properly, but prayed badly because of the incorrect books. Following out this idea, Charles had intrusted to Alcuin the reformation in the handwriting, and the results are seen in the beautiful manuscripts written in the school at Tours while Alcuin was the abbot. These manuscripts are perfectly legible at the present day and many of the forms of the individual letters are still in use.

Why Charles was Great

In spite of his enthusiasm for the Roman education, Charles was a thorough German. His greatness was due largely to his keen appreciation of the actual conditions and of what it was possible to accomplish. His aim was to graft upon the German stock and the German customs all that was best in the older civilization. He seems to have realized the strength which would result from the union of the best qualities in both societies. This is why men have agreed to call him great, so that his name is commonly written Charlemagne, Charles the Great.

CHAPTER XI

THE LATER CAROLINGIANS AND THE EMPIRE

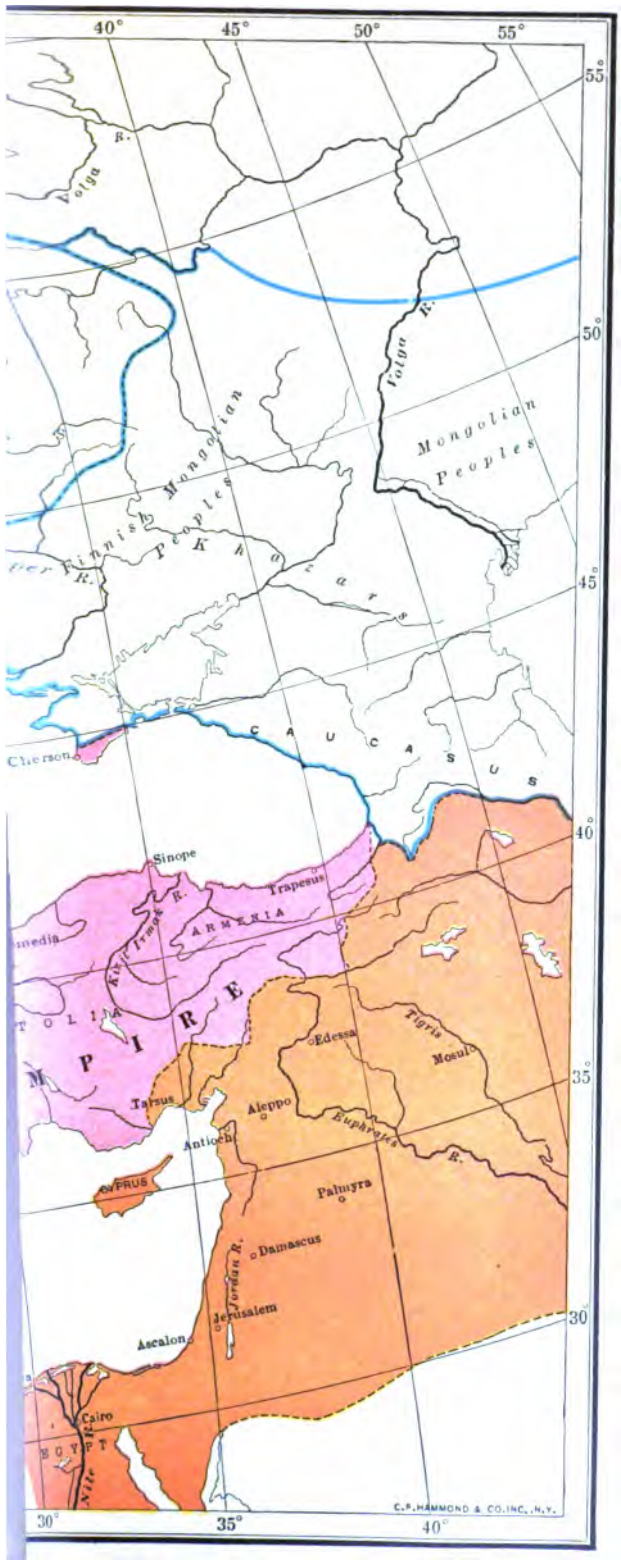
CHAP. XI

Empire Work of Charles

THE western Empire had been the result of the work of Charles the Great as king of the Franks, who had brought to a successful conclusion the task begun by Charles Martel and Pippin. He had put down the rebellions of the subject-peoples and had kept his own officials under control, in spite of the great size of his dominions and the difficulties of communication. But it had been a hard task even for Charles. Einhard says that most of the counts and other officers were corrupt and dishonest; even the *missi* could be depended upon only when a strict oversight was kept. The title of emperor added no real power to Charles and he had no strength as emperor except that which he possessed through his kingship over the various nations. To a like Charles the title of emperor gave prestige; for a weak ruler strong king like Charles the title of emperor gave prestige; for a weak ruler it would add little or nothing.

Causes of Weakness

When Charles died in 814 the imperial position was a very difficult one. The Franks, upon whom Charles had especially relied, were exhausted, because they had spent their lives and property so continuously in his campaigns. Many of the poor had been compelled to sink from their position as freemen into dependence upon the wealthier or upon the king's officials. The counts, dukes, bishops, and abbots were in a semi-independent relation to the emperor. Charles had made the head of each county or other division responsible for the men in his portion, to lead them to war and to see that they were properly equipped. As long as a sufficient number of troops came from the county and good order was preserved, Charles interfered comparatively little with the actions of his deputy; but naturally only a very strong ruler could afford to leave so much power in the hands of his subordinates. This was the more true because the means of communication between the different parts of the Empire were so inadequate; it took weeks and sometimes months to get news from the frontier to the place where Charles happened to be holding court. Even when Charles was emperor and his subjects dreaded his displeasure, he had not been able to protect ambassadors from ill-treatment while they were journeying from Constantinople to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Iris R.
ARMENIA
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Tigris
Mosul
Tarsus
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Euphrates R.
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CHAP.

Empire
Work o
Charles

Causes
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his court. His own counts had maltreated them in order to extort money. CHAP. XI

The greatest source of danger to the Frankish Empire, however, arose from the German custom of treating a kingdom as if it were private property and consequently dividing it up among all the legitimate sons. Fortunately this danger had been averted thus far; but this had been due mainly to chance. When Charles Martel died, his kingdom had been divided between his two sons; one of them had resigned the kingship in order to enter a monastery, and thus the unity of the Frankish realm had been preserved under Pippin. When Pippin died the kingdom had again been divided between two sons, Charles and Carloman, but the latter died very soon and again the disruption of the kingdom had been prevented. Charles the Great had planned to divide his empire among his three legitimate sons and the compact had been duly drawn up, but two of the sons died before their father. One left a son, Bernard, who was allowed to rule over his father's portion in northern Italy. Consequently when Charles died there was only one legitimate son still living and the Empire passed to him. Principle of Division

This son was Lewis the Pious, or the Debonair, as he is usually called. There have been great differences of opinion with regard to his character; some historians have described him as weak and vacillating; others have laid stress upon the elements of strength which he possessed. The truth seems to be that Lewis would have made a good ruler in a position where less responsibility was laid upon him. As the king of Aquitaine, a position which he held while his father was still alive, he had succeeded admirably and had won praise from Charles for the excellence of his government. He was far better educated than his father had been; he was more pious, as he had been trained by Benedict of Aniane, one of the leading churchmen of the time. When he succeeded to the throne he dismissed all the councilors of his father who led corrupt lives; by doing this he alienated some of the strongest supporters of the throne and caused an opposition party to rise. The feeling against him was intensified by the fact that he had been in Aquitaine during so large a part of his life that he had little in common with the East Frankish nobles who had been so influential at his father's court. His great piety also led him into subserviency to the pope and to the church officials. During his father's lifetime he had crowned himself emperor, under his father's direction, taking the crown from the altar and placing it upon his own head; but after Charles' death the pope had made a journey to the court of Lewis and had re-crowned him emperor. Lewis the Pious

CHAP. XI

By this act the pope established more firmly his theory that the imperial crown was bestowed by the church, while, in all probability, Charles had intended that Lewis, by crowning himself, should be free from all obligation to the papacy. On several occasions during his reign the piety of Lewis led him into a position where he lost prestige and consequently power. Although he was comparatively able, he was easily influenced by those whom he loved and trusted; his amiability, which is commemorated by the epithet *debonair*, was very apparent.

First Division of Empire

In 817, Lewis, following the example of his father, divided his empire among his three sons. In his arrangement, however, he laid stress upon a new principle which was a departure from the German custom and marked a change in the attitude toward the Empire. Instead of dividing his dominions and placing all of his sons upon an equality, he gave to the eldest the title of emperor and the supremacy over his two brothers. Lothair was to support and to protect his younger brothers and to exercise authority over them; from this time on he was to be associated with his father in the rule of the Empire. This division entirely neglected the claims of Bernard, the nephew of Lewis, who had been ruling in Italy. The latter felt much aggrieved, and, supported by the opposition, attempted to set himself up as an independent king. The rebellion was quickly put down; Bernard and the chief leaders were condemned to death, but in Bernard's case this penalty was changed to blinding. Although he had come to his uncle's court under a safe-conduct, the sentence was carried out, and so clumsily that Bernard died very soon from the shock.

Lewis was filled with remorse as a consequence of this act, and when his wife died the following year he looked upon her death as a sign of the displeasure of heaven, because she had incited him to the punishment of his nephew. In sorrow for her death and afflicted by the knowledge of his own sins, he wished to withdraw from the world to spend the rest of his life in a monastery. His subjects were very unwilling to have him carry out this desire, as his sons were still too young to rule effectively. In order to prevent the emperor from resigning the duties of his office and entering on the monastic life, they urged him to marry again. He was somewhat averse to this, but finally yielded to the wishes of his councilors. The pretty girls of suitable rank throughout the Empire are said to have been gathered together, and Lewis was urged to choose a bride. He was attracted by the beauty and wit of Judith, daughter of Count Welf, and the marriage took place in 819. Judith had a strong character and was very seductive; in addition to her beauty she had many qualities "recalling

Marriage with Judith

the ancient Judith," as the contemporaries said. She was soon to become the leader in the Empire, controlling her husband, who yielded to all her wishes.

Lewis never ceased to regret the death of Bernard, and felt that he had sinned grievously against him. In 822 he did public penance in his palace at Attigny, where he confessed that "he had shown himself so often guilty, in his life, his faith, and his duties, that it would be impossible to enumerate all the circumstances in which he had been at fault." This public humiliation testifies to Lewis's piety and also shows the difference between him and his father; it is impossible to imagine Charles the Great humbling himself before his subjects. And the act of Lewis made him despised by many nobles. While the emperor said that he was following "the example of the emperor Theodosius," his subjects thought the penance anything but a deed worthy of the ruler and head of the Empire.

Penance of Attigny

In the following year Charles, the only son of Judith and Lewis, was born. From this time Lewis was mainly concerned, under the influence of his wife, in preparing a suitable kingdom for his dearly beloved youngest son. The whole history of the last years of his reign was determined by his anxiety to satisfy Judith and to make her son equal in rank and power to the sons of the first marriage. At first he gained the consent of Lothair that Charles should receive whatever portion of the Empire Lewis might decide. The opposition party soon influenced Lothair so that he retracted his consent; but in 829 Lewis made a new division and gave to Charles a considerable part of the territory which had formerly been assigned to his eldest brother, and the latter was sent into Italy to rule that kingdom; Lothair's name was no longer placed on the imperial documents and his disgrace was evident. The next ten years saw repeated division of the territory of the Franks; sometimes all three of the sons of his first marriage were united against their father and he was forced to yield; at times he was held prisoner and his wife was compelled to retire to a monastery. Again and again he succeeded in detaching the other sons from the party of Lothair and was triumphant. The strength of the nation was exhausted in civil strife; a contemporary wrote in sorrow: "The state is troubled and there is danger both within and without. The armies which ought to be sent against foreign nations to conquer them are employed in carrying on civil war. Where is the former grandeur of the Empire of the Franks? If God does not intervene we shall soon be delivered defenseless to the attacks of the pagans." Finally in 838 Pippin died; Lewis the German, as he is usually called,

Repeated Divisions of Empire

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was in disgrace and Lewis the Pious again turned to Lothair with the proposal that "if he would consent to become the guardian and protector of Charles he should be received into favor again; all his bad actions in the past should be pardoned, and he should have one-half the kingdom." Lothair accepted and the whole Frankish realm was again divided, but this time only into two portions: one-half was to go to Lothair and one-half to Charles, later surnamed the Bald.

Lewis died in 840 and immediately war broke out between the three surviving brothers. Lothair did not keep the agreement which he had just made with his father, but claimed the Empire in accordance with the constitution of 817. Thereupon Lewis the German and Charles the Bald made common cause and "the war of the three brothers" began. The nobles in the Frankish Empire followed the party of one brother or another wholly in accordance with their own interest; each one making the best terms for himself that he could. Consequently at the battle of Fontenay in 841 all three met, and "the forces of the Franks were so diminished that they no longer sufficed to protect their own boundaries, far less to conquer other peoples." On that field of battle, in the words of a contemporary, "the supremacy of the Franks perished." Each party claimed victory, but the contest was indecisive; "a great carnage had been made, neither of the two parties had triumphed." It is said that forty thousand of the Franks perished in this action.

Fontenay, 841

Soon after the battle at Fontenay Charles and Lewis separated, but they soon found that they must make common cause if they did not wish to be conquered separately by Lothair. In February, 842, they met at Strassburg and swore a perpetual alliance. Each one took the oath in the language spoken by the followers of the other; that is, Lewis took the oath in the Romance tongue and Charles in the German, so that each might be understood by the brother's partizans. The oath ran as follows: "Out of love for God and for the good of the Christian people and our own salvation, I will in the future, from this day forth, as far as God gives to me wisdom and power, treat this my brother as one ought to treat his brother, on the condition that he does the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any agreement which may injure this my brother." It is especially interesting to read the language used by each of the brothers. Lewis spoke the following words: *"Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in*

Oath of Strassburg

o quid il mi altresi faset; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit." Then Charles repeated the same oath in the German language: "*In Godes minna ind in thes christanes folches ind unser bedhero gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizci indi mahd furgibit, so haldih thesan minan bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan bruodher scal, in thiu thaz er mig so sama duo indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, the minan willon imo ce scadhen werden.*"

This union of the two brothers forced Lothair to terms and in 843 the treaty of Verdun was concluded. By this Lothair received the long middle strip extending from the mouth of the Rhine to Rome and included between the Rhône and the Saone on the west and the Rhine on the east. The territory accordingly was almost a thousand miles in length and was exposed to attack on either side; it was especially vulnerable, as the boundaries were not very clearly marked out and were not protected by natural defenses. Lewis the German received practically all of the eastern part of the Empire beyond the Rhine with certain territories surrounded by his brother's possessions, including the bishoprics of Spires, Worms, and Mainz. Charles the Bald received all the western portion of the Empire, including most of what is now France. This treaty led the way to the formation of the modern nations, as France was clearly separated from Germany, and both from Italy. The long strip lying between the two, the kingdom of Lothair, was destined to have no unity and to be the battle ground between France and Germany.

Treaty of Verdun

The internal wars between the brothers and their father and the later strife had exhausted the strength of the Franks to a very great degree. The resources which formerly had been so large had been wasted for many years. When Lothair had been fleeing from his brother he had been compelled to pay his followers with fragments from a large silver globe. This had been the pride of Charles the Great, for on it "were represented the divisions of the world and the constellations of heaven and the courses of the planets." The sacrifice of this precious object illustrates the poverty of the emperor, and the other kings were no more fortunate; they were weak in both men and money, while their needs were greater than before, as all three kingdoms were threatened by dangerous invaders. Wholly absorbed in their strife against one another, they had done little to check the piratical inroads, and in fact Lothair after the battle of Fontenay had actually sought aid from the Northmen against his brothers. The clergy fully understood the position and were the only ones who

Weakness of the Empire

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acted for the general good. Throughout the troubled period which ensued it was the church which constantly stood for unity, and in 844 the leading bishops of the Frankish realm induced the three brothers to come together. At the prayers of the clergy they consented, or pretended to consent, to an agreement that they would refrain from injuring one another and would support one another against any foreign foe.

Northmen

The need of such unity was very great, as all of the kingdoms, but especially the realm of Charles the Bald, were being harassed by the pirate Northmen, a name which then included all the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula and of Denmark. Because of the nature of their home these peoples were good sailors and accustomed to making much of their living on the sea. They were a hardy and vigorous race, of Teutonic stock, tall in stature, fierce in disposition, and intensely averse to any form of subjugation. As the population in their lands had increased, some of the chieftains had attempted to establish order and to make themselves powerful. Those who were dissatisfied and defeated had to leave the country, and as vikings in small open boats they sailed away from home in the search of adventure and wealth. The Swedes for the most part harried Russia; the Norwegians made descents upon Scotland and Ireland and founded colonies along the coasts; the Danes attacked England and Gaul. During the reign of Charles the Great they had made at least one descent upon the coast; but while this great warrior was alive they had found it more profitable to carry on their depredations elsewhere.

Their Devastations

During the reign of Lewis the Pious they made occasional attacks on the Frankish realm and obtained considerable booty. After his death, in 841, the Northmen pillaged the city of Rouen and put it to sack with fire and sword. As they were still pagans they paid no heed to the sanctity of the churches and convents, but massacred or enslaved the monks and plundered the monasteries. In 843 they sacked Nantes, murdered the bishop before the very altar, and carried away many captives. About this time, finding it more convenient for their "summer harvest," they made their headquarters on islands at the mouths of the rivers, so that these bands soon came to be known as "the pirates of the Seine," or "the pirates of the Loire," or by some similar name according to their winter quarters. In 845 many Northmen joined together under the leadership of Ragnar Lodbrok and captured Paris, whence they departed only after receiving an enormous ransom, and plundering as far as Toulouse sacked Bordeaux. From this time on, for a number of years it is a dreary tale; the Northmen sacked Tours, Orléans, Paris, and very many other cities; they

withdrew from a district only when there was nothing more to glean. The annals of the writers at this time recount how the Northmen, "according to their custom," plundered the villages "before the eyes of Lothair," and carried off immense booty; or, again, how they pillaged Orléans without opposition, plundered all the monasteries in the vicinity, and then unattacked passed the winter. CHAP. XI

Charles the Bald, who was king of the western Frankish kingdom, has usually been represented as weak. The disasters of his reign lend only too much color to this point of view; but it seems somewhat unjust to him. He was ambitious and active, but not usually successful. He had been well educated by his mother and knew both the sacred and the profane literature much more extensively than was usual at that time. His court was the home of many scholars, whose studies he encouraged, for he loved to be known as a patron of learning; he had what was then a large library and was very fond of his manuscripts. He was especially well versed in the laws of his ancestors and attempted to carry out the policy of his grandfather. But he was not strong enough to maintain order, and two sections of his kingdom, Brittany and Aquitaine, were usually in revolt against him. In the former there was a revolt which he attempted to suppress in 845, but he met with a disastrous defeat, and Noménoé, the chief noble in Brittany, attempted to have himself crowned king. The bishops, who were the great defenders of the principle of Frankish unity, refused to crown him, but he succeeded in obtaining the crown after three years of strife in which he had expelled the bishops who were not subservient. Until the death of Noménoé Charles was unable to conquer the land; and he was obliged to recognize a new king on condition that the latter should become his man. In Aquitaine also there were constant rebellions and the people frequently summoned to their aid, against Charles, Lewis the German or any one else who would espouse their cause. Finally, Aquitaine was made into a vassal kingdom. It would seem that with the revolts in Brittany and Aquitaine and the constant invasions by the Northmen, Charles would have been fully occupied and would have had no time for external wars; but when his brother Lothair died in 855 and left his kingdom to his three sons, Charles was anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to secure additional territory for himself. Charles the Bald

For the time being he could accomplish nothing, as many of his own nobles were in revolt against him and had summoned Lewis the German to their aid. In 858, while Charles was busy in the siege of the chief stronghold of the Northmen, he had been

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Revolt against Charles

abandoned by many of his followers. They affirmed that they could no longer support the tyranny of Charles; that the little property which remained after the pillage by the pagans was taken from them by the king; and accordingly they deserted him for his brother Lewis the German. The latter was successful in his invasions and secured possession of the West Frankish realm after a single battle. In December, 858, he was able to date a diploma in "the twentieth year of my reign over the East Frankish kingdom and the first of my reign over the West Frankish kingdom." The bishops, however, remained loyal to Charles and induced his followers to attempt to drive out Lewis, on account of "the abominable cruelties which his troops had committed in crossing the dioceses." Within a very few weeks Lewis was obliged to retire and his attempted conquest led to no result except the further weakness of both kingdoms.

Robert the Strong

The ravages of the Northmen still continued. The only Frankish leader of this period who had achieved any great success against them was Robert the Strong, the ancestor of the Capetian line. He may have been German by birth and may have come from the eastern Frankish kingdom, but this is not certain, as his origin is very obscure. In 852 he was the rector, or guardian, of the abbey of Marmoutier near Tours, and from this time he seems to have been an important man in the West Frankish kingdom. In 858 he was one of the leaders against Charles the Bald; later he returned to his allegiance and was made duke of the country between the Loire and Seine, where he fought successfully against the Bretons and also against the Northmen. In 865 he is said to have killed more than six hundred of the pirates and to have received as a reward from the king two counties, but in 866 he was killed while fighting against the Northmen. After his death there was no one left who could cope with the pirates, and Robert the Strong was long remembered as the great hero of the national defense; his son inherited much of his father's prestige and the deeds of Robert were influential in bringing about the establishment of the Capetian line.

Edict of Pistres

Meanwhile Charles the Bald was doing all in his power to check the Northmen. In 864 he made the edict of Pistres, which showed real understanding of the difficulties. The Northmen always had attacked places suddenly, and generally had succeeded in escaping with their prisoners and booty before any troops could be gathered against them. Their sacks of the cities had been due, to a great extent, to the lack of fortifications; few of the towns had walls and there were almost no castles. In the edict of Pistres

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Charles attempted to substitute cavalry for the foot-soldiers who formed the Frankish army; he ordered that all of the Franks who had horses or were able to have horses should serve as cavalry. By this means he hoped to acquire forces which could be moved more swiftly and might check the invasions. In order to protect the country better from the Northmen, in this same edict Charles ordered that all the towns on the rivers should construct bridges, with fortified bridge-heads, so that the Northmen would not be able to pass by them on the rivers. The Seine, in particular, was protected, both at Pistres itself and also at Paris, where two strongly fortified bridges were built from the opposite banks to the island on which was the city. This defense for Paris proved very efficacious during the next siege.

When Lothair had died, in 855, his empire had been divided, as stated above. His oldest son had been given the imperial title with the kingdom of Italy; a second son, Lothair, had received as his kingdom the territory which soon took from him the name Lotharingia, or Lorraine; the third son received the southern portion, Burgundy, or Provence, with some of the territory lying north of it. The fortunes of Lothair will be touched upon in another connection; here it is important, however, to notice his death, in 869, because of its connection with the history of Charles the Bald. Lothair II had left no legitimate heir; consequently, under the lead of Hincmar, the most powerful bishop in the Frankish realm, Charles was summoned by the leading nobles to Lotharingia and received the crown. But Lewis the German was determined to have his share of the spoils, and the emperor Lewis, the brother of Lothair II, also claimed a part. At this time the emperor was fully occupied in Italy fighting against Saracen invaders; but Lewis the German was so powerful that Charles had to negotiate, and by the treaty of Mersen, in 870, the kingdom of Lothair was divided between his two uncles, Charles receiving the western portion including Lyons, Vienne, Besançon, Verdun, Liége, and other important towns; while Lewis secured Aachen, the old capital, Cologne, Strassburg, and other important Rhenish cities. This treaty prevented fighting for a few years, but both brothers were so greedy for land, although they could not defend what they already had, that no lasting peace was possible between them. While the Northmen were continuing their ravages and the people said in the Litany, "from the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us," each Carolingian ruler was attempting to aggrandize himself at the expense of his relatives. Except for the church, there would have been no

Treaty of Mersen, 870

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unity throughout this period; but the leading clergy, with Hincmar, bishop of Reims, at their head, did all in their power to preserve peace and concord.

In 873 Charles succeeded in winning a great victory over some Northmen, whose chiefs surrendered, paid him money, thus returning some of what they had received from him, and gave hostages for their good behavior. They promised not to pillage the kingdom again and asked only that they might have an island in the Loire where those who should be baptized and should be true Christians might live. This success freed the kingdom of Charles from the fury of the Northmen for several years and so enhanced his reputation that when the emperor Lewis II died, two years later, the pope was eager to crown Charles emperor. He hoped that Charles would be strong enough to protect him against the Saracens, who for many years had been ravaging the peninsula of Italy. Although Lewis the German also wanted the imperial title, Charles was able to reach Rome first and was crowned on Christmas day, 875. It was the anniversary of the coronation of his grandfather, but the ceremony meant something very different in the latter case. Charles the Bald had very little power and sought the title only for the prestige; after receiving the crown of the kingdom of Italy he returned home and left the pope to his fate.

Charles the Bald, Emperor

Death of Charles

In 877 Charles died. His career has been related at some length because of its importance for the history of the Empire and of western Europe. From the time of his birth he had been an influential factor, as it was the desire to secure a kingdom for him that had led his father Lewis the Pious to change the division which he had made and to precipitate war. For this reason Charles has often been treated very unfairly. He was greedy of power, but no more so than his brothers; he was unsuccessful in managing his kingdom, but again not more so than his brothers. During his reign feudal conditions were taking shape very rapidly, the church had great power, the nobles were frequently in rebellion, the Northmen were plundering the country, but it seems unfair to hold Charles responsible for all these conditions and mishaps. Charles had done what he could; in particular he had made excellent laws, which he was unable to enforce. On the whole, he was neither better nor worse than his leading contemporaries, and it is unhistorical to single him out as the scapegoat and to make him responsible for all the evils which may have resulted from the intrigues of his clever mother.

All of the later generations of the Carolingians were short-lived. Charles the Bald had had four sons, but only one, Lewis, called

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the Stammerer, had survived him. Lewis was an able man, loving peace and justice, and not misled by the ambitious designs of his race. Yet he was able to obtain the crown by election only after he had bribed many of the nobles. In spite of the long succession of hereditary rulers the hereditary principle was by no means established; both in the case of Lewis the Stammerer and in that of his sons the nobles hindered the election in order to extort concessions before they recognized the heir as king. Lewis lived only two years and was succeeded by his sons Lewis III and Carloman, whose succession to the throne was assured only through the exertions of the clergy. These kings were so weak at first that a part of their former possessions in Burgundy and Provence was detached and made into a separate kingdom. Lewis III, however, was a man of real ability, and he found his opportunity in the contest against the Northmen. The latter had been for some years fully engaged in England, but Alfred the Great had restored peace there and the unruly vikings sought other places to ravage. They again were harassing all northern France and had occupied the city of Amiens, where Lewis and his brother rushed to meet them. At Saucourt, on August 3, 881, Lewis gave battle to the Northmen and won a notable victory; more than eight thousand of the invaders were left dead upon the field and the remaining Northmen withdrew from France. They devoted themselves to plundering Lorraine until after the death of Lewis III, the following year, when they returned to France.

Lewis III

Later Carolingian Rulers

An evil fortune seemed to pursue these later Carolingians Lewis had won this great victory which had freed his land from the terror caused by the pirates and everything seemed propitious; but "it chanced one day that in sport he chased a certain damsel, the daughter of Germund. She fled into her father's gate and the king followed her laughing. But he forgot to stoop sufficiently at the portal, and was crushed between the roof and the high pommel of his saddle so that he died within a few days." Two years later his brother Carloman was accidentally killed while boar-hunting, and left no heir except a young brother, a child of five, who was later known as Charles the Simple. The Carolingian line was now almost extinct. In Germany only one son of Lewis the German was still living, Charles III, later called the Fat, who had inherited from his father and his brothers all of the kingdom and had been crowned emperor at Rome in 881. The nobles and bishops of France, when they met together to deliberate on the fate of the kingdom, decided in favor of the fully grown man, Charles III, rather than the child, Charles the Simple; accordingly the former was crowned king. He was praised as

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"a very Christian prince, fearing God, with all his heart keeping His commandments, very devoutly obeying the orders of the Church, generous in alms-giving, practising unceasingly prayer and song, always intent upon celebrating the praises of God." This catalogue of virtues is discreetly silent concerning Charles' ability and valor, and he seems to have been cowardly and unable to take any vigorous action. When the Northmen attacked his kingdom he was entirely incompetent, and in every peril or time of need he showed his unfitness for his position.

The great event during his reign was the siege of Paris by the Northmen. In November, 885, several hundred viking-ships assembled below the city; it is said that they covered the Seine for the distance of two leagues. Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong, was in the city and managed its defense, which was greatly facilitated by the towers and bridge-heads on the bridges at either side. In September of the following year, Charles the Fat with an enormous army arrived at Montmartre, which was then well outside the city of Paris, but did not dare to engage in battle and "did nothing worthy of the royal majesty." Toward the end of October, after the Northmen had besieged the city for eleven months, he made a peace in which they agreed to leave and go into the district of Sens, where the people did not recognize his authority; in addition, the next spring the Northmen received seven hundred pounds of silver, on condition that they would leave France and go home. His subjects were very much disgusted, and a powerful party rose in opposition to him, so that Charles was compelled to abdicate. He died within three months, in January, 888. It is eloquent of the condition of the time that a later generation should have made a hero of Charles the Fat and should have looked back to his days as the good old times. In fact, the difficulties were increasing, and the people were to suffer so many evils that the last Carolingian who united almost all of the Frankish realm under his power was to become a theme of legend; Charles the Fat was represented as having retired to a cave where he waited for the opportunity to deliver his people. A more sorry hero or one more comical in some respects than was he, was never chosen by a national legend. The condition of the Empire immediately after his death was thus described by the contemporary Regino: "The kingdoms which obeyed him, deprived of a legitimate heir, quarreled and separated from one another; each one chose a king from its own inhabitants, paying nc heed to the natural heir. Great wars followed, not because there were lacking Frankish princes worthy by their nobility, courage, and wisdom of commanding the kingdom; but because

Abdication of Charles the Fat

they were all equal to one another in race, dignity, and power; the distrust was augmented, and no one was so preëminent that the others were willing to submit to his domination." Germany, Italy, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence became kingdoms, and were for a time almost entirely independent of one another or of France.

Fate of Imperial Title

After the death of Charles the Fat the imperial title attracted a few ambitious men, and five rulers were successively invested with the title of emperor of the Roman Empire; all but one owed the advancement entirely to the pope and the title carried with it little prestige and no power. Finally the office was left vacant for more than a generation until the coronation of Otto the Great.

CHAPTER XII

FEUDALISM

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Gradual Evolution

DURING the period which has been the subject of the preceding chapters there had been a gradual evolution in the social and political institutions which resulted in what is now called feudalism. In order to understand the process and its outcome, it is necessary to regroup and restate some of the facts already mentioned.

Beginnings Under Roman Rule

In the Roman society at the beginning of the fifth century there was no civil equality of persons and the lower classes of freemen had fallen almost completely under the power of the nobles. Some of the small land-holders had been violently dispossessed. Frequently poor men with small farms had been compelled to place themselves under the patronage (*patrocinium*) of some wealthy and powerful neighbor in order to secure protection or to escape the burdensome taxation; such protection the powerful man was usually willing to grant, but as payment for his patronage he required the transfer to himself of the title to the land which the poorer man had owned; usually the former owner, as long as he lived, was allowed the usufruct or tenure of the land. Thus the land was passing into the hands of the nobles, and the latter frequently had more than their *coloni* and slaves could cultivate. Consequently, rather than let it lie idle, they often granted the request (*precarium*) of a poor man for the use of some land. Usually there was no payment demanded, but on the other hand the grant could be terminated at any moment when the owner desired, so the user had a precarious tenure. The *patrocinium* and *precarium* became well established, and on each estate the inhabitants looked to the proprietor for protection and the means of earning a livelihood. Consequently it was natural that the administration of justice should also fall into the hands of the proprietors, and many of them possessed a *de facto* private jurisdiction in their villas during the later decades of the Roman rule.

Decline of Cities

While the power of the nobles was increasing, the cities (the urban centers of the *civitates*) were losing their importance. The citizens had been deprived of almost all their privileges and

were being crushed by taxation. As the villas were practically self-supporting they offered no market for the products of the cities. The migrations brought in a ruling class of a lower civilization who felt little need of the Roman manufactures, and the disorders incident to the presence of the barbarians made travel dangerous, so that commerce between the different portions of the Empire was greatly hindered. The cities became smaller and their inhabitants were forced to turn to agriculture for a larger portion of their living.

After the Germans had become the masters in Gaul, some Roman nobles retained their possessions and became companions and officials of the barbarian rulers. Some lands were confiscated by the invaders and distributed among the companions of the kings, in return for military service or other duties. In either case the tenants and small holders depended almost wholly upon the great proprietors for protection and livelihood, and had to serve them in return. From the time of the migrations onward, warfare was constant. At first the wealthy Roman aristocrats had to maintain fighting men in their service in order to defend themselves. All of the Germans, and later all men who were wealthy enough, had to serve in the king's army for several months each year at their own expense. These were the general conditions during all the time from the fifth to the tenth century, and it was in this framework that the kings were obliged to carry on their functions.

Effects of Migrations

The customs which had prevailed under the Roman rule were not unlike some of the German customs, and the new institutions which grew out of the fusion have long been a bone of contention between the different schools of historians. One school lays stress upon the Roman origins and shows how vassalage and fiefs developed from the *patrocinium* and *precarium;* the other school derives the vassal relation from the German *comitatus*[1] and points out that the land relation in the fief is the natural outcome of the idea of a gift among the primitive Germans, who were like children, ready to give away anything which they did not desire at the moment, but feeling that they had a perfect right to reclaim the gift if they wanted it. Consequently when the land was distributed among the followers of a German king they had only the tenure and not the ownership, which still was vested theoretically in the king.

German Factors

The prevalence of the private jurisdictions may have been an outgrowth of the Roman customs or it may have been due to the grants of immunity on the part of the German kings. By the

Juri tion

[1] See p. 81.

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terms of a typical formula all royal officials were forbidden to enter any of the property of the abbot or bishop, who was the recipient of the grant of immunity, either for the purpose of holding court or exacting fines; all receipts from the courts were turned over to the abbot or bishop. These privileges were frequently sought because of oppression by some official of the king. The bishops and abbots wished to be dependent only upon the king and thus to escape responsibility to the local count; and the king was generally willing to grant such a request because it did not cost him much, usually only a part of the court fines, and it did restrict the power of his often unruly subordinate. In order to protect the holder of the immunity the king usually appointed an official, who was called the advocate, to see that the privilege was respected; very frequently this advocate ended by usurping power over the estate. Laymen were seldom granted immunities, but the more powerful and more wealthy had continued to exercise or had usurped private jurisdiction over their estates, very similar to that conferred by a definite grant, and in 614 A.D. these *de facto* privileges were recognized by royal edict under the name of *potestates*.

These private jurisdictions are symptomatic of the general change which had been going on throughout the society, even before the migrations. In place of the old relation between the state and the individual, or between the clan and its members, obligations between man and man had become common. The protection which the poor man had been obliged to seek from the wealthy man had come to be recognized under the name of commendation, and the universality of this relation is indicated by the formulas of the seventh century. A typical one reads:[2] "To that magnificent lord so and so, I, so and so. Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your piety, and your good will has decreed to me that I should hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say in this way, that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it. And as long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during the time of my life have the ability to withdraw from your power or guardianship; but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense. Wherefore it is

Commendation

[2] Translated by E. P. Cheyney. Almost all the examples are taken from his excellent collection of documents in Translations and Reprints, Vol. IV, No. 3, where others will be found.

proper that if either of us shall wish to withdraw himself from these agreements, he shall pay so many shillings to the other party (*pari suo*), and this agreement shall remain unbroken." It will be noted that the commendation differs from the *patrocinium;* the latter carried with it an idea of degradation for the weaker man; the commendation seems to maintain more of the dignity of the *comitatus* relationship.

References in the capitularies show that this custom of commendation was widespread in the Frankish Empire by the year 816, if not earlier. In the latter year Louis the Pious decreed: "If any one shall wish to leave his lord (*seniorem*), and is able to prove against him one of these crimes, that is, in the first place, if the lord has wished to reduce him unjustly into servitude; in the second place, if he has taken counsel against his life; in the third place, if the lord has committed adultery with the wife of the vassal; in the fourth place, if he has wilfuly attacked him with a drawn sword; in the fifth place, if the lord has been able to bring defense to his vassal after he has commended his hands to him, and has not done so; it is allowed to the vassal to leave him. If the lord has perpetrated anything against the vassal in these five points it is allowed the vassal to leave him." But otherwise, not; vassalage was a permanent relationship.

Permanence of Relationship

In the year 847, by the capitulary of Mersen, the three sons of Louis the Pious attempted, for administrative purposes, to compel all freemen who had not already commended themselves to enter into such a relation. "We will, moreover, that each free man in our kingdom shall choose a lord, from us or our faithful, such a one as he wishes. We command moreover that no man shall leave his lord without just cause, nor should any one receive him, except in such a way as was customary in the time of our predecessors." For greater ease in administration many public services, such as the leading of the men to the army, were intrusted by the Carolingians to the *seniores,* or lords. More and more the king ceased to have relations with the majority of the inhabitants of his kingdom except indirectly through the lords, and it came to be considered the duty of the average man to obey his lord rather than the more remote authority of the king; in fact, the average man had no duties toward the central government except through his lord.

Universality

Land-holding had been undergoing an analogous change. Almost all of the land had passed into the hands of a comparatively small number of owners, who, in order to have it cultivated and to secure followers, had granted out portions to individuals. At first these grants were usually for a short term, frequently of five

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years, and were called *precariae*,[8] although the conditions were different from those in the older *precaria*. Later it came to be the custom to grant the land for a lifetime, or even for the period of two or more lives, and such grants were called benefices. The holder of the benefice had the use of the land and was expected in return to make some payment, usually small, and to give personal services when called upon; but his burdens were relatively light and he received protection from the stronger man, so that not a few land-owners preferred to hand over their property in order to better their own condition. Sometimes such a change of ownership was forced upon them by the stronger party. A typical formula of the seventh century reads, in part, as follows:

Benefice

Formula

"I have settled in my mind that I ought, for the good of my soul, to make a gift of something from my possessions, which I have therefore done. And this is what I hand over, in the district named so and so, in the place of which the name is such and such, all those possessions of mine which there my father left me at his death and which as against my brothers or as against my co-heirs the lot legitimately brought me in the division; or those which I was able afterward to add to them in any way, in their whole completeness, that is to say the courtyard with its buildings, with slaves, houses, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, woods, waters, mills, etc. These, as I have said before, with all the things adjacent or appurtenant to them, I hand over to the church which was built in honor of such and such a saint, to the monastery which is called so and so, where such and such an abbot is acknowledged to rule regularly over God's flock; on these conditions, viz: That so long as life remains in my body, the possessions above described I shall receive from you as a benefice for usufruct, and the due payment I will make to you and your successors each year, that is so and so much. And my son shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, and shall make the above-named payment; and if my children should survive me they shall have the same possessions during the days of their life and shall make the same payment; and if God shall give me a son from a legitimate wife, he shall have the same possessions for the days of his life only, after the death of whom the same possessions with all their improvements shall return to your part to be held forever; and if it shall be my chance to beget sons from a legitimate marriage,

[8] The change in the form of this word from a neuter noun of the second declension, *precarium*, to a feminine noun of the first, *precaria*, is an illustration of the changes going on in the Latin language, because of the general ignorance and disregard of the study of grammar.

these shall hold the same possessions after my death, making the above named payment, during the time of their lives. If not, however, after my death, without tergiversation of any kind, by right of your authority the same possession shall revert to you to be retained forever."

It is evident that these private relations must have encroached decidedly upon the power of the central government. The Roman emperors had attempted to check the practice of commendation and the growth of private jurisdictions. The Merovingians apparently did not realize the danger; they thought of their kingdom as private property and made grants freely to favorites or to gain friends. In order to hold such a society together and to make his power effective a very strong monarch was needed. In western Europe such men were rare; during all of this period the kings were frequently weak and the power gradually slipped from their hands. In the seventh century the decay of the royal authority in Gaul was comparatively rapid, although checked for a time by the rise of the strong mayors of the palace. But the latter often had to buy support from their nobles and in times of great stress found their own resources entirely inadequate. Thus Charles Martel had been compelled to use some lands of the church in order to equip an army of cavalry to serve against the Mussulmans, in 732. Charles the Great had arrested the decay and had apparently built up a strong centralized monarchy; but he had exhausted the strength of the freemen by long and continuous campaigns, and in order to make the administration more easy he had actually sanctioned the causes of the decay of the royal power, so that after him its ultimate ruin seems to have been inevitable. In the oath of 802, which Charles required all of his subjects to take, more stress apparently was laid upon Charles' position as overlord than upon his rights as king or emperor.

Weakness of Central Government

Like his Merovingian predecessors, Charles the Great delegated authority to the counts, and in any district, during the absence of the king, the count had practically all of the power in his own hands; he maintained order, held the courts, raised and led the army, and published any new edicts of the king. Under the Merovingians these counts had held only a temporary position; under the Carolingians they generally held office for a number of years and the son often succeeded to the father; at the assembly of Kiersey, in 877, it was recognized by Charles the Bald and his nobles that this hereditary succession was the general rule. The powers which they had possessed as deputies of the king were gradually usurped by the officials for their

Strength of Hereditary Officials

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own advantage; they no longer transmitted to the king the major part of the fines levied in the courts but kept all for themselves; when the king summoned them to lead their contingents of soldiers to his army they obeyed or not, according to their own interests; in all their acts they were governed mainly by the ability, or inability, of the king to enforce obedience.

To intensify all the difficulties came the invasions: by the Northmen on the north and the west, by the Saracens on the south, and by the Slavs on the east. Against these dangers the kings were powerless to protect their subjects; each district had to depend upon itself in times of emergency, and the strong man, whether count, bishop, or abbot, naturally came to the front and became recognized as the real power in his locality. For the defense of his property he built a castle of wood which was not very unlike an ordinary blockhouse on the American frontier, and was defended by a wall or stockade of logs surrounded by a ditch. To these fortifications the people fled in times of invasion; for the protection which they rendered to the people the lords of these castles demanded services. Because of this the strong man in each district generally came to be the lord of the freemen in that district; usually also he granted land to followers as benefices and usurped or obtained private jurisdiction over his lands and men.

Usurpations by Local Rulers

The conjunction of the vassal-relationship, of the land-tenure, and of the private jurisdiction, marks the character of feudalism in the west of Europe. It takes its name from the *feodum*, the fief of land, which was the essential unit. This differed only in one respect from a benefice—it was transmitted by hereditary right from generation to generation; gradually the same came to be true of a benefice, and the two terms were often used interchangeably. The vassal, or holder of a fief, had private jurisdiction over the land which he did not actually own, but of which he had the usufruct and for which he paid services to the lord from whom he held it. While a fief usually was a tract of land, it might be anything which would bring in an income, and especially any grant in the nature of a monopoly: e. g., an office, either administrative or judicial, the right to levy tolls at a bridge, a mill or a bakery which the people of the neighborhood had to patronize, the tithes of a church, half the bees in the woods of Champagne. Sometimes, especially in the thirteenth century and later, a fief might consist of a sum of money which the vassal received each year from his lord, i. e., wages or salary, as it would be termed now. Whatever the fief might be, the

The Fief

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services owed by the vassal were practically the same: they consisted of military, judicial, civil, and pecuniary obligations.

The later Carolingian kings had retained little of the authority of Charles the Great. They still had great pretentions to power but their actual position had changed. The lords not only had private jurisdiction over their own estates, but they had also bound themselves together, voluntarily or involuntarily, by a network of relations, based upon land-holding, so that they owed services and protection to one another on account of the fiefs which they held. While theoretically they were subjects of the king, practically only those paid him service who held land directly from him. At the close of the tenth century there were several thousand fiefs in the kingdom of France, which were very unequal in size; there were only about forty great lords as distinguished from the multitude of petty fief-holders.[4] Around these great proprietors lesser men had grouped themselves, and frequently the same individual held land from two or more lords; consequently all the nobles were bound together by their feudal relations, and except as the king entered into the system, through land-granting or land-holding, he had no actual duties to the people of his kingdom, or rights over them. Personal relations, generally based upon land-holding between lords and vassals, supplanted the duties and rights incident to citizenship or to membership in the tribe or state.

Feudal Relations Become All-Important

Although the customs of feudalism were going through a continuous evolution and the incidents varied not only from county to county, but also from fief to fief, it seems best to give a general statement at this point. It is important to remember, however, that any such general statement must be wrong in some details and that some of the countries came under the feudal régime much later than others. Yet a composite picture may be drawn which will not be incorrect in its main outlines.

Customs

The contract which held together the members of the feudal

[4] According to Mortet, the great fiefs were the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitaine; the counties of Flanders, Champagne, Brittany, Anjou, Blois and Chartres, Toulouse, Provence, Dauphiné; the vi-counties of Limoges, of Carcassonne; the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Laon, Reims, Beauvais, Châlons, Langres, Le Puy, Mende, Viviers, Lyons, Narbonne. There was always some land held allodially, or in full ownership, and not by feudal tenure. But such lands were assimilated to the feudal conditions. In later times the "Kingdom of Yvetôt," which owed its name to a lawyer's fiction, became famous in fiction. It is also true that there was some prestige about the kingship which was very useful to a strong monarch and seemed to give him power over and above what he possessed as a feudal overlord.

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Homage and Fealty

society was entered into through the act of fealty. The man who was to receive a fief or benefice knelt before the lord bare-headed and without his sword, and placing his hands within the hands of the lord made a formal promise. He declared that he became the lord's man, or vassal, for all the days of his life, and would defend the lord against "all men who may live or die." The lord then raised him up, kissed him on the mouth, and declared that he accepted him as a vassal. This act of homage was usually followed by the oath of fidelity to the lord, sworn upon the Gospel or some other sacred object. Then the vassal received the investiture of the fief, usually by some symbolic act, such as a stroke "with a little rod." This bond entailed definite obligation for both parties, which also gave certain rights to each. The lord, theoretically, was bound to protect his vassal, secure justice for him, and give him such aid as he might need. The vassal was to render military and judicial services, to give his counsel and aid to the lord whenever demanded, and, under exceptional circumstances, to make payments in money or kind.

Military Service

Each vassal was required to serve in the lord's army for a fixed period each year, usually forty days. He was obliged to equip himself and to pay his own expenses during this time; if he served longer, the lord was usually expected to pay his expenses. In addition, the vassal was frequently required to do castle-ward for a fixed time each year. Sometimes he had to have his wife and children with him while on service in his lord's castle. In this way the lord would have a personal knowledge of the character and qualities of the members of the family, which might be useful to him in connection with some of the rights which are discussed below.

Court Service

The lord had the right to summon his vassals and ask their counsel on any question. In particular, he could require them to assist him in the trial of cases in his court. The vassal also owed suit, i. e., he was expected to bring any law-suit in which he was concerned to the lord's court, where it would be decided by his fellow-vassals and his lord.

Aids

Theoretically, the vassal did not owe any money payments to his lord. As a matter of fact, when he received his fief, he frequently contracted to make an annual payment. A vassal was also expected to help his lord when the latter had some extraordinary expenses. In such cases his payment was called an aid; gradually the cases in which such an aid might be demanded were fixed by custom, but the custom varied in different countries and even in different fiefs in the same country. The "three chief aids" in Normandy or England were due when the lord's

oldest son was knighted, when the lord's oldest daughter was married, and when the lord himself was taken prisoner; in these three cases the vassal had to help pay the expenses, the dowry, or the ransom. In the period of the crusades vassals in France were frequently obliged to pay an "aid" towards the lord's equipment when he went on an expedition to the Holy Land.

Purveyance

Payments in kind were caused partly by the right of purveyance which the lord enjoyed. This required the vassal to board and lodge the lord and his followers for a time. In theory there was at first no limit to this right, but it was so burdensome that it became fixed for each locality either by custom or contract, and it could seldom be exercised more than three times a year, and then only for a given number of followers; often it was restricted to once a year, and both the number of persons and animals and the kinds of food and supplies were stipulated.

Relief

The relief might be paid in kind or in money according to the usage of the fief. It was due whenever there was a new holder of the fief or a new lord, because the feudal bond was thought of as a personal one, and consequently homage and relief were due from each vassal to his lord, and must be renewed whenever there was a new lord. But the relief was a very burdensome payment, often fixed at one year's income from the fief, and there was a tendency to restrict the payment to the occasion either of the change in the vassal or in the lord and not to make it in both cases. The relief in Normandy was a fixed sum of money, and this usage was transferred to England, where the relief was frequently five pounds for each knight's fee. It should be noted here that a knight's fee had come to be a measure and meant such a fief or part of a fief as would furnish sufficient income to support a knight. A noble, for example, might be obliged to pay £15 relief, because he held a fief equivalent to three knights' fees. There was a tendency to reckon all services in a similar manner. Thus the earl of Clare, on one occasion, paid £94, 11s. 10d. for the aid for the daughter of the king, "for 131 knights and two-thirds of a knight, and a third and a fourth and an eighth and a ninth and a tenth of a knight, and two thirtieths of a knight of his fee; and for nine knights and the fourth part of a knight of the fee of the countess, his wife." And in 1272, when the military tenants were summoned to the French army, some would furnish a knight for forty days; others for four, or ten, or twenty, or thirty days, according to the value of their holdings; still others would have to furnish several knights.

When a vassal died the relief might be exacted, according to custom, if the heir was of full age; if he was a minor, the lord

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might take possession of the property and hold it until the end of the minority. In such a case he was exercising the right of

Wardship

wardship. This was the usual custom in Normandy and England; the theory was that the fief owed to the lord the services of a knight, and when the heir could not perform these the lord had a right to the income of the fief. He was, however, expected to provide for the support of the minor and to restore the fief to him when he came of age; then a relief might be demanded and frequently was. The heir to a fief, whether his father was alive or not, was often required to live at the castle of his lord, because he was a useful hostage.

Marriage

In many fiefs the lord must give his consent to the marriage of his vassal or his vassal's oldest son; if there was no son, and a daughter would inherit, then the lord was especially interested in her marriage; for, if she should marry any one hostile to him or whom he could not control, he would lose his property. This right of marriage was lucrative and was sometimes abused; in the English Exchequer Rolls there are very significant entries, such as, "Hawisa, who was wife of William Fitz Robert, renders account of 130 marks and 4 palfreys that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her; and that she may not be compelled to marry."

Intricacy of Relations

The feudal usages were greatly complicated by the fact that many vassals held from different lords and almost every one was both lord and vassal. Consequently all were bound together by an intricate network of duties and rights, and frequently a vassal owed conflicting services to two or more lords, especially when the latter were at war with one another. And the private wars were frequent. Marriages and inheritances were constantly causing the rupture of old feudal bonds and the formation of new. If the king of France married the heiress to a fief held from one of his own vassals, he was supposed to owe to this vassal the services due from his wife's fief.

Lack of Uniformity

Almost the only service which was uniformly demanded of all vassals was the military. And even this varied; while it was usually forty days, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, owing to the conditions there, it might be demanded at any time for any length of time: the formula was that the knight owed one year of military service each year. In France there was a difference of opinion as to the right of a lord to keep his vassal after forty days, even when he was willing to pay the latter. In England the vassals frequently held that they were not required to serve outside the country. The solution of these differences depended

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mainly upon the relative power of the vassals and of the lords.

Force, the Sanction

For the sanction of the feudal tie rested, in the last analysis, upon force. Whatever the legal theories might be, the vassal usually performed only such services as he felt unable to avoid. His lord might cite him to court, but generally tried to reduce him to submission by a private war. Luchaire has stated for France that "every feudatory was at strife with his different suzerains, with the bishops and abbots with whom he was in contact, with his fellow-vassals, and with his own vassals."

Position of King

Both the king and the church were included in the feudal relations. The king was theoretically the overlord of all the nobles in his kingdom, and this was especially true in England or in the kingdom of Jerusalem, to which the feudal customs had been transplanted. When they had grown up by gradual evolution, as in France, the position of the king was less clearly recognized. While a certain sanctity was associated with the kingship, the French monarch owed his actual power to his feudal vassals and his feudal holdings. This continued to be true until the rise of the cities introduced a new element, which generally sided with the king.

Position of Church Officials

The bishops and abbots held a vast extent of property which had been gradually acquired by the church. Since the days of Charles the Great these high churchmen had been considered officials of the king, did homage to him and received from him the investiture of their fiefs. They were required to lead their contingent of troops to the king's host and to perform many of the other feudal obligations. They, in turn, granted many fiefs from their lands, and consequently had many vassals who owed them the regular feudal incidents.

The Peasants

Thus far only the two estates, the nobility and the clergy, have been considered. But feudal society was supported by the labor of the peasants, who formed an integral part of the feudal group. They were said to hold their land by servile tenure because their primary duty was not fighting. They owed to their lord many services analogous to the feudal incidents, and might even be called out to fight. Their lot will be described later.[5]

[5] See Chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH TO 954 A.D.

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THE emperors at Constantinople were iconoclasts and unable to defend their possessions in Italy. Consequently the popes, "placed between the heretic and the robber," had turned to Pippin and Charles the Great for aid against the Lombards. The expeditions of the Franks had freed Rome from danger of conquest by the Lombards and also from the control of the Greek emperors; the events which culminated in the coronation ceremony in St. Peter's had made Charles the Great the temporal head of both church and empire in the West. The pope was obliged to defer to the wishes of the emperor, who exercised the right of sanctioning the elections to the papal see. But the church was only temporarily in bondage and had already obtained great power and authority and wealth. By its missions Rome had brought under its own leadership the Christians in Gaul, Germany, and England, and the pope was recognized as the ultimate authority in all matters of faith. The Irish Church, which had been its only rival in the West, was suffering from the invasions of the Northmen and was gradually losing its prominence as an educational and missionary center. Boniface had destroyed the prestige of the Irish monks on the continent and had established the supremacy of the pope.

Power of the Church

Church as Landholder

The church possessed an enormous amount of territory in the different countries of the West, and on its lands exercised feudal authority. By their rights of immunity the bishops and abbots were practically independent of all external control in the administration of their estates. They granted benefices and thus became suzerains, with vassals who owed military as well as other services; as they in turn were vassals of the kings or other lords, and were held to the performance of all the feudal duties, they were frequently obliged to lead their warriors in person. As the church was forbidden by the canons to alienate its property, and as it, unlike a lay holder, never died, property once passed into its hands would theoretically always remain in its possession, in mortmain.[1] Its property was constantly

[1] Mortmain, or dead hand, was the term used because the hand was the organ of transmission and if the hand was dead there could be no transferral of property.

added to by pious gifts from individuals; but occasionally a ruler sequestrated a portion of its lands under some more or less legal pretext, as Charles Martel had done in order to raise a force of cavalry to meet the Saracens. Only by such acts of confiscation was the church prevented from holding an ever-increasing proportion of the land, which would eventually have reduced the lay powers to impotence.

Charles the Great had commanded that each one of his subjects should pay a tithe of his income to the church, and this practice gradually became universal, although, of course, there were many evasions. Because of the income from its feudal grants, from the estates which it kept in its own hands, from the tithes, from gifts of the faithful, and from the payments and contributions for the various rites and services, the church became enormously wealthy. Consequently the bishops and abbots were important because of their power and wealth, and many ambitious men sought to obtain these positions; in the ninth and tenth centuries, laymen frequently succeeded in usurping various church offices, or in being appointed to them. In the contemporary chronicles an individual is sometimes styled an abbot-count, because he held both the lay and ecclesiastical office. In speaking of the election of one of the popes a chronicler writes, "in one and the same day he was both a layman and a pope."

Wealth of Church

The church also gained power by its activity in correcting the immoral conduct of its members and by its insistence upon acts of penance for wrong-doing. The code of penalties dated from the early days when the members of the church were picked and devout men and women. After Christianity became the state religion and the great mass of unworthy people had been brought into the church, it became difficult to maintain the customary penalties, for many an individual was condemned to an amount of penance which it would have been impossible for him to perform during his life-time. Consequently some allowance had to be made for human frailty; if the penitent was judged to be truly repentant he might be allowed to commute his penance into a contribution to some pious undertaking, or into a pilgrimage to some holy spot, especially Rome or Jerusalem.

Penance

As the penances which were required made a severe draft upon the income of the sinner or necessitated a change in his mode of life, many were indisposed to obey the church; in order to control such unruly members the priests dwelt upon the punishment of sinners in the next world. To the unrepentant were depicted the terrible fate which they must undergo after death unless they had made their peace with the church during their life-

Terrors

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time. Stories were told of the visions which some priest or monk had had concerning the conditions after death. These set before the hardened sinners the special torments which their relatives or neighbors who had recently died were compelled to undergo.

If a man remained obdurate and was unwilling to recognize the authority of the church he might be cut off from its membership by excommunication. This term had a varying content from age to age. In its usual and more severe form, in the ninth and tenth centuries, it meant that the person under the ban was not allowed to be present at any service of the church and was not permitted to participate in the common life of other Christians; if he died unrepentant he had no chance of eternal salvation. Sometimes, when the culprit was unwilling to yield, the excommunication was extended to affect the whole community of which he was a member; this penalty was more sharply defined later as an interdict and became the strongest weapon which the church possessed; but it was not much employed until a later period than the one under discussion in this chapter.

Excommunication

If, however, it should be supposed that the church owed its hold upon its members mainly to the terror which it preached or to the means of discipline which it used, the conclusions would be entirely erroneous. Its influence was due mainly to the many services which it performed for the welfare of society. The members of the secular clergy were the leaders in every community and the church building was the social center. There the people gathered together on feast-days or Sundays, attended the services, heard the news, and spent the entire day. Between the services they engaged in games or dancing on the ground about the church, with no thought of any irreverence. Of course, it was the members of the clergy who officiated at all times of special interest, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals; but, in addition, they entered far more fully into the daily life of their parishioners than at the present time. Their services were in constant requisition for advice and assistance, for the taking of oaths for the ordeals and other methods of trials, and in a host of other ways.

Services of the Church

The monks, the members of the regular clergy, were frequently more influential than the secular clergy. Where a monastery was planted, fields were reclaimed and the wilderness was soon transformed into an agricultural estate, which sometimes served as a model farm. Peasants came to live about the monasteries for the sake of protection and especially because, as the medieval proverb said, "It is good to dwell under the shadow of the cross."

Services of the Monks

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Artisans found opportunity to ply their trades and frequently a town grew up about the monastery; it is surprising to know how many of the cities of western Europe have been built up in this way. The monks were also the great teachers, so that monastery and school became practically synonymous terms. The nobility often sent their children to be educated; bright boys among the peasants were sought out by the monks and were trained for the service of the church. The monasteries were also the only libraries of the period, and while their collections of books were always very small, in them were preserved the writings of the church fathers and the classical manuscripts. Very few of these would be in existence at the present day except for the labor of the monks, for they copied books as well as preserved them. St. Jerome had written to a pupil, "Have a book always in your hand or under your eyes," and this advice was followed in many of the monasteries.

Educational

Their social services were no less important. The monks were the doctors and nurses of the age; to them the sick were brought and by them were preserved some of the medical secrets known to the Romans. The monasteries served as inns where travelers were always welcome; for St. Benedict had ordered that every stranger was to be received as if he were Christ himself, and this noble tradition of hospitality was respected throughout the Middle Ages. The nunneries offered the women the only alternative to marriage, and many took advantage of the refuge in the cloister. Some distinguished themselves by their learning; Roswitha, for example, wrote a series of plays modeled after Terence, which she fondly hoped would supplant the pagan author. Finally, the monasteries antagonized, although unconsciously, the prevailing feudalism. For, while still following feudal usages in the management of their estates, in their membership they welcomed peasants as well as freemen and nobles; and within their walls all were equal. Often the son of a peasant rose to the position of abbot and became the overlord of the nobles who held land from the monastery. Because of their various activities it is difficult to overestimate the services which the monks performed during this period.

Social

The immense power which the church possessed because of its wealth and influence was centered mainly in the hands of the bishops and abbots. The former, in particular, were among the great territorial lords of western Europe, and from their enormous estates they collected great incomes and levied large armies. As has been indicated above, they usually stood for the unity of the Empire and were on the side of the weak monarchs against the

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lay nobles. Because of their ability and united action the churchmen generally held the balance of power, and really determined governmental affairs to a great extent. Armed with spiritual and temporal authority, having their armies to enforce their decrees, and the ban of excommunication to check the unruly, they were able to make their position stronger and stronger. With considerable accuracy Voltaire designated the ninth century as the "Age of the Bishops."

"Age of Bishops"

The most important of all was the pope. Charles the Great had maintained his authority over the city of Rome, and from time to time he sent thither his legate, who looked into the administration of the city and represented the emperor in the same way as a *missus* in any other territory. The coins which were struck represent the condition of affairs very clearly; on one side appears the name of the pope, on the other the name of the emperor. Charles the Great had had his son Louis the Pious crown himself, and had exercised some control over the papal actions, but after his death the popes attempted to change the relations between themselves and the emperors. Stephen IV in 816 and Paschal I in 817 were consecrated without waiting for the imperial sanction; Louis the Pious allowed himself to be recrowned by the pope and in 822 had his son Lothair crowned by him as co-emperor. On the latter occasion, however, Lothair exercised his authority as ruler of the city and decided a case adversely to the pope. Soon after his departure from Rome some of the imperial partizans were put to death by the hostile party and the pope had to clear himself of an accusation of participation in their murder by taking an oath of purgation. The following year Lothair went to Rome and published there a civic constitution in which he regulated the administration of justice in the city of Rome, and the relative rights of the pope and the emperor, reserving the supremacy to the latter. But, from this time on, the Carolingians were so busily occupied in their internal strifes that they had little opportunity to interfere with the affairs of Rome, and the control of the city passed more and more into the hands of the pope, although an imperial party still existed in the city and from time to time manifested hostility to the papal party.

The Popes and the Emperors

Patrimony of St. Peter

The history of the patrimony of St. Peter is somewhat similar. Until the outbreak of the civil strife the emperor maintained his authority over the lands in Italy. The city and the territory immediately surrounding it was set apart as a separate jurisdiction, administered jointly by the emperor and the pope, but the other lands were governed by the emperor or his representative. As the Carolingian power became weaker, the popes were able to

extend their control or to make their power felt feudally over the whole patrimony, and as they received donations, or recognitions of existing donations, from several of the emperors, their power became firmly established. The question concerning the genuineness of these various grants is a very difficult one. The so-called donation of Constantine was a forgery of the eighth century and may have been forged to influence Pippin to make his donation. The first mention in existing documents of the donation of Louis the Pious is in the eleventh century; but historians now believe that there was a genuine document into which forgeries have been interpolated. The weak emperors made donations, influenced partly by the existing grants, and partly by the fact that they could have no opportunity to exercise authority over these lands, so that, by the middle of the tenth century, the pope was fully recognized as the feudal overlord of the patrimony, although there was still some dispute as to just what it included.

The most pressing need felt by the officials of the church was a series of precedents which would free them from all lay control, and the popes felt the necessity of some legal documents which would make them the supreme authority over the church. This lack on the part of the church as a whole and especially on the part of the pope was supplied by the forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. This famous collection was composed of genuine letters of popes and authentic canons of councils with a large addition of spurious documents, consisting of letters supposed to have been written by earlier popes and canons supposed to have been enacted at various councils. While the genuine collections of the canons and letters of the popes had omitted to discuss many subjects of interest to this later time, the forged documents took up questions which were important in the eighth and ninth centuries, and furnished ample precedents for the entire freedom of the church officials from all lay control and also for the supremacy of the pope over all of the archbishops and bishops.[2] This collection was almost universally accepted as genuine throughout the Middle Ages, and few suspected any forgery. At the present time no one defends the genuineness

Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals

[2] There has been much discussion concerning the date of these forgeries. It is probable that the various documents were forged at different times, and the whole collection was not brought together much before the middle of the ninth century. But this date is not universally accepted. The tendency has been, in the past, for Roman Catholic historians to place the date as late as possible in order to show that these documents had little, if any, influence. Protestant partisans, on the other hand, have frequently attempted to place the date as early as possible in order to show that the authority of the Church rested mainly upon forgeries.

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of this collection. Early popes were made to use the title of *servus servorum Dei*, which we now know to have been first used by Gregory the Great (590–604), and were made to quote from books written centuries later; but no one then raised any question about such anachronisms, and the forgery furnished a storehouse of arguments which were used by popes and churchmen of the ninth and succeeding centuries.

The first use of these documents, as far as it is recorded in existing literature, was during the pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867). He was a man of noble family and great ability. During his reign he was engaged almost constantly in various struggles which were destined to have a great influence in the future. At Constantinople the orthodox patriarch had been deposed by the emperor Michael in December, 857, and in his place the learned Photius had been raised to be head of the Byzantine Church. Both disputants appealed to Rome, and the papal legates were bribed to support Photius, but Pope Benedict excommunicated these faithless officials, and in a Roman synod, in 863, Nicholas I condemned Photius and ordered him to resign his office. The latter, in turn, excommunicated the pope and charged the Roman Church with heresies. He was able to maintain his position until 867, when he was deposed by the successor of Michael, after the murder of the latter. This struggle alienated the two churches still more and was one of the links in the chain of events which finally brought about the schism between the East and the West.

Struggles of Nicholas I

Photius

A second struggle emphasized the pope's position as the moral arbiter over kings as well as over other members of the church. Lothair, the brother of the emperor, had put away his wife Theutberga and had taken in her place a mistress, Waldrada. The papal legates who were sent to investigate this matter were bribed by Lothair, pronounced Theutberga's divorce legal, and recognized Waldrada as his wife. Nicholas was very indignant, deposed and excommunicated the guilty churchmen, and annulled their decree. All of this took place in 863. There was a long struggle, but Nicholas stood firm and Lothair was compelled to take back his lawful wife. When he repudiated her again and took back Waldrada, he was excommunicated by Nicholas. Finally, after the death of Nicholas, Lothair was compelled to humble himself and to submit to the commands of the next pope. In this matter, as frequently throughout the Middle Ages, the pope stood firm as the champion of the sanctity of the marriage ties and used the weapon of excommunication in order to enforce morality. He established the fact that the king as a

Lothair

Christian was subject to the judgment of the church if he did wrong.

The third important struggle which the pope was obliged to carry on was against the most powerful churchman in France, Hincmar, the archbishop of Reims. The latter had arrested one of the bishops in his province and held him a prisoner for months in order to prevent his prosecuting a suit at the court of Rome; for he claimed that he had supreme authority in his own province and that no one could appeal from his decision. Nicholas condemned Hincmar's action and urged Charles the Bald to force him to yield; as the king needed the pope's aid in other matters he attempted to coerce Hincmar. The latter protested and argued that, while the pope was supreme over the whole church, he had no right to interfere in the government of a metropolitan. He quoted the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in order to enforce his arguments, but Nicholas I replied and also quoted the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, showing by them that he was completely within his right. Hincmar, who seems to have had some suspicion as to the spuriousness of this collection, spoke of it as "a mouse-trap to catch the archbishops." Nicholas won a complete victory, and the right of the pope to intervene in all affairs of the church was recognized. This was to have an important influence upon the relation of the national churches to the Church of Rome.

Hincmar

Through the personality of the pope, Nicholas I, the papacy had won great power. Secure in the possession of the patrimony of St. Peter, and armed with the authority based upon the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, it might have seemed destined to fall heir to the power which was slipping from the nerveless hands of the Carolingians. That it was not able to do so was due to the conditions in Italy, to which we must now turn our attention.

Promising Outlook for the Papacy

The Mohammedans, called in by a traitor, had invaded Sicily in 827. This island was still subject to the Byzantine emperor, who sent aid against the Saracens until in 832 he had to turn all his attention to the struggle in Asia against the caliph Motassem. Although the Greek commanders in Sicily made a gallant and prolonged defense, in 859 they lost their last important stronghold in the center of the island and their possessions were reduced to Syracuse and the towns at the foot of Mount Etna.

Saracen Conquest of Sicily

The Saracens were now able to devote their forces to the conquest of Italy itself. Their task was greatly facilitated by the rival powers which were ruling in southern Italy. A large part was included in the duchy of Benevento, which formerly had done homage to Charles the Great but since his death had been prac-

Rival Powers in Southern Italy

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tically independent. "The heel and toe" of Italy were still held by the Byzantine Empire; Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta were almost independent cities, although nominally reckoned as subjects of Constantinople.

In 839 the duke of Benevento was murdered and a civil war broke out over the succession. One of the contending parties sought aid from the Mohammedans in Sicily; the other from the Mohammedans in Crete. Each of the Saracen forces captured cities, but, instead of reliquishing them to the Christian leader for whom they were nominally fighting, garrisoned the strongholds for themselves. By 851 southern Italy, to the very gates of Rome, was in constant danger from the marauding bands. In 846 the Roman Campagna had been invaded and the churches of St. Peter in the Vatican and of St. Paul outside the walls had been sacked. Fortunately the strong wall which had been built by the emperor Aurelian kept the Saracens out of Rome itself and the Eternal City was spared the fate of Bari, Brindisi, and other cities, which had already become Mohammedan fortresses.

Conquests of the Saracens

In this time of peril Italy owed much to the Carolingian Lewis, son of the emperor Lothair, who was crowned as co-emperor in 850. He was a worthy descendant of Charles the Great, but circumstances compelled him to devote himself to Italian affairs and he exercised no authority north of the Alps. In firm alliance with the popes, over whom he exercised some imperial control, he sought to drive the Saracens from Italy and to reduce the Lombard rulers in southern Italy to obedience. The most notable victories were won by Pope Leo IV in 849 at Ostia,[3] and by Lewis at Bari in 871 and at Salerno in 872; for over twenty years Lewis was always busy in spite of lukewarmness and treachery on the part of his allies, the Greek and Lombard rulers. His death, in 875, prevented the accomplishment of his task. It was taken up by the Greek emperor Basil, who succeeded in driving the Saracens out of eastern Italy. Although successful on the mainland, he lost Syracuse, which was taken by the Saracens in 878, some years before his conquest of southern Italy.

Expulsion of the Saracens from Italy

On the death of Lewis, Pope John VIII bestowed the imperial crown on Charles the Bald and gave to him, as a vassal, a golden scepter. There was no question as to which was the more exalted power. After this time the emperors received their crown from the hands of the popes and had little or no authority, until the coronation of Otto the Great, in 962. For the last thirty-seven

Fate of Imperial Title

[3] A feat which has been commemorated in the fresco designed by Raphael in the Vatican.

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years of this period there was not even a nominal emperor. In the half century from the accession of Charles the Bald to the death of Berengar seven emperors held the title by the gift of the pope, of whom three were recognized only in Italy, and even there they did not really rule. During ten years, from 905 to 915, the office was vacant. Except for the part played by their partizans in the struggles at Rome they exercised no influence over the papacy.

Pope John VIII

John VIII, who was pope from 872–882, was a man of great ability, and his attitude toward Charles the Bald showed his ambition. But a year after he had conferred the Empire he was obliged to beg piteously for aid against the Saracens. "Cities, fortresses, villages have perished with their inhabitants, the bishops are dispersed. . . . The whole Campagna is depopulated, . . . the neighborhood of the city has been so devastated that not a single inhabitant is to be found." Rulers in the south were in alliance with the Saracens, but John was undismayed and himself prepared a fleet with which, in alliance with the Greeks, he won a victory, capturing eighteen vessels and liberating six hundred Christian slaves. But he was soon compelled to buy peace from the Saracens and to flee to France. This was because, after the death of Charles the Bald in 881, Charles the Fat wanted the imperial crown, and his partizans in Rome were too strong for the pope, who was finally forced to give the crown to the German king.

Degradation of the Papacy

After John the popes were weak, and usually ruled only for a short time. Some were men of so little note that scarcely more is known of them than their names. In the closing years of the ninth century, it was apparently the custom for the servants and others to plunder the papal palace when the pope died. When Stephen V was elected pope, in 895, he found that everything had been stolen, except one votive offering; yet, in accordance with custom, he had to make gifts to the populace on his accession. Another glimpse of anarchy and barbarism at Rome is afforded by the trial of Formosus, who was pope from 891 to 896. He had been a partizan of the German Arnulf, whom he had crowned emperor. The party opposed to Arnulf was greatly incensed at his cruelty when he entered the city, and, as soon as he left, sought vengeance. Formosus had died, but his enemies, not to be thwarted, exhumed his body eight months later and placed it on trial, seated on a throne and clad in papal garb. The corpse was duly convicted, the vestments torn from it, the three fingers which had formerly given the pontifical blessing were hacked off, and then it was dragged through the streets and thrown into the

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Tiber. After Formosus, there were eight popes in eight years.

Papacy Controlled by Local Nobles

The papacy had passed under the control of the nobles resident in Rome and its suburbs. Rulers from the north sometimes exercised a momentary pressure, but northern Italy was almost given over to feudal anarchy, and, to make conditions worse, in 899 the Magyars, or Hungarians, began their raids into Italy. Consequently, in Rome rival factions arose, and one of their main objects, if not the chief one was to have a partizan as pope, in order to enjoy the income which still flowed into the papal coffers from the faithful outside of Rome; for the Christian West, as a whole, still revered the papal office and knew little or nothing of its degradation.

In the early years of the tenth century, the most influential nobles in Rome were Theodora and her husband. She styled herself "*Senatrix*," as her husband was called "*Senator Romanorum*." It is difficult to form a just estimate of her or of her daughter Marozia, both of whom were very influential in creating and controlling popes. By their opponents they were represented as vile women, but no one denied their ability.

Papacy Contfolled by Women

The pope for whom Theodora secured the position was her old lover, John X, who did much for the defense of Italy and Rome; in his pontificate the last Saracens were expelled from Italy. But, quarreling with Marozia, he was imprisoned and died a captive. Then Marozia became all-powerful in Rome, and the succeeding popes were her appointees; in 931 she had the dignity conferred on her son, who was known as John XI, and whose father was, by common rumor, the pope Sergius III. Marozia's downfall and the end of the women's control of the papacy was brought about by her son Alberic.

His mother, a widow for the second time, offered her hand, and Rome as a dowry, to Hugo, "king of Italy." Alberic may have felt that this marriage would injure his own prospects, or he may have been insulted by his father-in-law; the facts are not definitely known. But it is certain that Alberic headed a rising of the Romans against his mother and Hugo. The latter was compelled to flee from Rome; Alberic imprisoned his mother, and kept his brother, the pope John XI, under close surveillance, while he himself ruled as "*princeps atque omnium Romanorum Senator*." For twenty-two years, from 932 to 954, Alberic was all-powerful in the Eternal City, and restricted the activity of the popes wholly to spiritual affairs. He felt himself strong enough to refuse admission to the city when Otto I desired to visit Rome in 952. Before he died, in 954, he had secured the succession of his

Alberic "Princeps"

young son Octavian to his own position as "princeps" and also, it is said, to the papacy. At all events, Octavian, in 954, became temporal head of Rome, and in 955 was elected pope as John XII, and thus temporal power again passed into the hands of the pope.

While the papacy was sinking into degradation, the church elsewhere was not in such evil straits. To be sure, the church was permeated by feudal usages; the bishops and the abbots were often corrupt and ambitious worldlings; the monks were sometimes dissolute; the clergy as a whole ignorant and "blind leaders of the blind." But there was already a leaven of reform at work which was to permeate the whole fabric of the church, and this emanated from Cluny, a Burgundian monastery founded in 910. In the first place, Cluny was the home of able men and picked leaders who worked for righteousness and were zealots. Secondly, Cluny at its foundation was made an "exempt" monastery, owing obedience only to the pope, and free from control by all other secular or ecclesiastical authorities; consequently it became a champion of papal authority and urged the necessity of freeing church officials from all control by laymen, even kings or emperors.

Cluny and Its Work

In the third place, Cluny added a new feature to the monastic system; this was "the congregation." Before the foundation of Cluny each monastery was independent; when a band of monks was sent out to found a new home, they owed no allegiance, no obedience to the parent monastery. If discipline declined and corruption became rife in a monastery, it was difficult to reform it, because no other monastic community had any jurisdiction, and monks, as a rule, were bitterly jealous of any interference by the secular clergy. But Cluny established a new system by which all monasteries founded from Cluny remained subject to the abbot at Cluny and were visited regularly by him. The result was so good and the prestige of Cluny so great that other monasteries were affiliated and passed under the obedience of the abbot, as if they were the offspring of the mother convent. The congregation of Cluny became very powerful and was gradually working for reform, for strengthening the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and for exalting the church above all lay powers.

Congregation of Cluny

CHAPTER XIV

GERMANY, 843-1002

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Kingdom of Lewis the German

BY the provisions of the treaty of Verdun, in 843, Lewis received the eastern part of the Carolingian empire. Contrasted with the central portion, the empire of Lothair, or the western portion, the kingdom of Charles, his share might seem to have been poor; in particular he had comparatively few cities. His subjects were, on the whole, less civilized, for only a few parts of his territory had been included in the old Roman Empire. In reality, Germany, as we may now begin to call the kingdom of Lewis, was to prove the strongest of the three divisions; practically all the inhabitants were Germans and their vigor was less impaired and their customs less changed than those of their brethren in the west.

Division and Reunion

At first the fortunes of Germany were closely associated with those of the other Carolingian territories, as described in the preceding chapters. Lewis, following the traditional policy of his family, planned to divide his kingdom among his sons. After his death there were for a time three separate kingdoms, but the barrenness of the Carolingian stock and the deaths which ensued so rapidly soon brought all together again, under Charles the Fat. After he had been deposed on account of his incapacity, Germany was less involved in the fortunes of the other kingdoms.

German Kingship Elective

As there was no Carolingian heir of legitimate birth, except the boy who later was known as Charles the Simple, the German nobles proceeded to elect a king. By their act the old German principle of electing a ruler, which had so long been in abeyance, was again made prominent; and from this time on election was frequently practised, as it gave more power to the nobles and at the same time made it possible to secure a strong ruler in any emergency.

Arnulf and the Danes

The nobles elected Arnulf, an illegitimate grandson of Lewis the German, who had already shown his ability as a ruler in the little territory which had been assigned to him. During the twelve years that he was king, 887–899, Arnulf fully justified the wisdom of the nobles' choice. The greatest danger was from the marauding expeditions of the Danes, who made their last

great attack upon German territory in 891. At first they were successful, but Arnulf, although far distant, came hastening to the rescue. He drove them back to their fortified camp at Louvain on the river Dyle, which they believed to be impregnable, as it was placed between the river and a marsh and could not be approached by cavalry. But Arnulf, dismounting, led the attack in person and the Germans with their huge battle-axes were soon within the breastworks. The Danes were obliged to flee and their position made escape difficult; most of them were forced into the river, where they were drowned. This victory added greatly to Arnulf's prestige both in his own kingdom and among the neighboring peoples.

Moravians and Hungarians

On the east too Arnulf had to strive against invaders, for the Moravians under the leadership of Svatopluk had founded a strong empire and were threatening the German frontiers. In 892–893 Arnulf invaded their lands, but with little success. The following year Svatopluk died and the Moravian empire gradually crumbled to pieces, so that it was no longer a source of danger to the Germans. But in order to get aid in his expedition against the Moravians Arnulf had hired a band of Hungarian warriors. The latter continued to make raids upon the Moravians on their own account, and extended their plundering expeditions even into Italy. For the next half century they were a serious menace, especially to the Germans, on whose villages and monasteries they were continually swooping down. They were horsemen and skilful archers, but were seldom able to capture cities or fortified places.

Because he had been successful in suppressing disorder in his own kingdom and in securing it against invaders, Arnulf was recognized as the ablest ruler in the north, and the other kings in the Carolingian territories sought recognition from him and seem to have regarded him as a kind of overlord. Consequently it was natural that one of the rival claimants for the throne of Italy, who had been defeated, should seek his aid in 894. In a rapid campaign Arnulf secured recognition as overlord in northern Italy. Then the longing for the imperial crown seized upon him and the following year he made a second expedition into Italy and forced his way down to Rome, which closed its gates against him. He took the Leonine city by storm; then the gates of Rome were opened and he was crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. But Arnulf, like so many other German conquerors of Italy, was stricken with disease and had to hasten back to Germany. The vandalism of some of his followers and his own severity had alienated the Romans, so that the opposition got

Arnulf and Italy

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control in Rome and Arnulf was never able to return to restore order.

Lewis, "the Child"

When Arnulf died in 899, he left his kingdom to his son, Lewis "the Child," who had been born in 893. There seems to have been no thought of an election. There was only one other son; he was illegitimate and was not able to maintain order in Lotharingia, which had been given to him by his father. When he died, fighting against his own subjects, Lotharingia also passed under the rule of Lewis. The latter had the support of the most powerful churchman in Germany, Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, who attempted to carry on the government as regent for the infant king. All Germany soon fell a prey to anarchy; the nobles fought with one another; the freemen had to seek protection and became vassals of the powerful nobles. At the same time, the Northmen, especially the Danes, and also the Wends and the Hungarians harassed the frontiers; the last named even invaded Bavaria, Swabia, and Thuringia, spreading terror everywhere. As one of the contemporary bishops wrote, "Never could it be said more truly, 'Woe to the country of which a boy is king!'"

The great difficulty in the kingdom of Germany was the lack of organization and centralization. The old divisions among the tribes had always persisted to a greater or less extent. Charles the Great had done what he could to weaken the hereditary rulers, but the national divisions persisted in spite of all his efforts.

The Duchies

During the reign of Lewis the Child certain duchies came into prominence; these were to some degree the continuation of the old duchies, but also partly new creations. Bavaria had always preserved its own identity and had been recognized as a kingdom under one of the sons of Lewis the German; at the beginning of the tenth century a new dynasty was established there. The boundaries of the duchy were the Alps, Bohemia, and the rivers Lech and Enns. To the westward of Bavaria extended the duchy of Alamannia or Swabia, which stretched along both banks of the Rhine from the Alps to Strassburg or beyond; here also in the early years of the tenth century a new duchy was established. North of Swabia was Franconia, which included the banks of the Main and of the lower Neckar; for the possession of this duchy there was a long and continuous contest waged during the early years of the tenth century. The strongest of all the duchies was Saxony, which included most of the northern part of Germany; for the Saxons, although conquered by Charles the Great, had never lost their sense of nationality. Lorraine, or Lotharingia, was sometimes a part of the German kingdom and sometimes was connected with the West Frankish kingdom. When it was sub-

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ject to the German ruler it formed a fifth duchy of coördinate rank with the other four. Each of these duchies was practically a petty kingdom, and its ruler had within his territory almost all the powers of a king, with his own court, officials, and army; national assemblies continued to be called by him. This last point and the general feeling of common nationality were the great sources of the power of the dukes.

These duchies were subdivided, just as the empire of Charles had been, into counties, and the counts exercised a delegated jurisdiction. The most important were the counts of the border lands, the margraves or *markgrafen*. Thus Bavaria had charge of two marches, that of the east which later was to become Austria, and the march of Carinthia. The Slavs formed the greatest danger and in order to protect Germany from the invasions of the Czechs the march of Bohemia had been established. In similar manner in the north to protect the country from the Sorbs, who were Slavs, the marches of Thuringia, Sorabia, Misnia, and Lusatia. The Saxon march protected against incursions from other Slavs and out of it grew *Nordmark, Altmark, Mittelmark, Neumark,* which later formed the elements of Brandenburg; against the Danes the march of Dania, known also as the march of Schleswig. Finally in the south there was the march of Rhætia. At times the rulers of the more important of these marches had almost as great power as the dukes. For their defense able administrators were selected who not only held the country intrusted to them, but frequently extended its limits.

The Marches

The duchies had been established or had grown strong during the lifetime of the child Lewis. At his death in 911 Conrad, the duke of Franconia, was elected king, but had no authority over any part of Germany except his own duchy. The dukes of Saxony and Swabia had consented to his election but did not feel bound to defer in any way to his wishes, and most of his reign was spent in warfare against the ruler of Saxony. When he died, in 918, according to the Saxon chronicler Widukind, he magnanimously considered that the insignia of the royal office should be sent to his life-long antagonist, and that Franconia should give its aid in the election to Saxony.

Conrad of Franconia, 911–918

Whether this actually took place as stated is uncertain; but at all events the Saxon duke was elected king of Germany and the Saxon house held the throne from 919 to 1024. Henry I, later sometimes called the Fowler, was the first of these Saxon kings, and under him the power of the monarchy was greatly developed. He had owed his election only to Franconia and Saxony; con-

Henry, the Fowler 919–936

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sequently it was necessary for him to force the other dukes to recognize his authority. This was a matter which was soon decided, because Henry placed himself at the head of his forces and reduced first Alamannia and then Bavaria to submission. The ruler in Lorraine also became his vassal. The real test of Henry's ability was, however, the way in which he met the danger of invasion and the problem of his unruly and semi-independent vassals. The Hungarians were the greatest difficulty, as they were constantly making incursions far into German territory. Their attacks were always unexpected and consequently difficult to meet; they did not attempt to hold the country but sought only plunder. Henry felt the impossibiliy of a decisive conflict without sufficient preparation, and accordingly, in 924, concluded a peace of nine years with the Hungarians. These years were utilized in the preparation of a strong army, so that when the peace came to an end he was ready. In two great battles the Hungarians were defeated and Germany was freed from their attacks during the remainder of Henry's life-time. In the other portion of his task Henry was not equally successful, and at his death Germany did not constitute a centralized monarchy, but merely a kind of confederation in which the dukes ruled their duchies and the king's authority was limited to his own duchy and to such other matters as the other dukes were willing to intrust to him.

Otto the Great, 936–973

Henry was succeeded by his son Otto, usually called the Great because under him the Saxon house reached its greatest period of glory. His long reign of thirty-seven years enabled him to carry out the tasks for which his father had paved the way. Fortunately for Otto, Henry had not followed the old German custom of division of the kingdom, but instead had followed the principle of the ducal houses of transmitting the power to one son. Otto had two brothers, one older and one younger; the older, although illegitimate, had expected the heirship because of his seniority; the younger, who had been born after his father had become king, claimed the succession because he was of royal blood, while Otto, who had been born before his father's accession to the throne, he held to be of inferior birth. The widow of the emperor favored the youngest son; the dukes in the other duchies were not inclined to recognize Otto's authority any more than they could possibly help. Both of his brothers attempted revolts and the first five years of his reign were occupied in putting down rebellions and in consolidating his power. But, while the open strife was ended by 941, Otto was not satisfied until he had completely crushed the dynasties of dukes, who were

always a source of danger and weakness. After his brother Henry had been subdued and had proved himself faithful, he received the duchy of Bavaria. One of his daughters Otto married to Conrad the Red, whom he put at the head of Lorraine; another daughter was married to the man whom he placed at the head of Franconia. One of his sons was married to the heiress of Swabia and inherited through her the duchy. Saxony Otto administered by his own faithful officials. Thus all Germany was under the rule of members of Otto's family and this same policy was influential in his foreign relations; the two most powerful men in France, the king and his rival, Hugh the Great, were his brothers-in-law. Later, in order to secure a claim on Italy and the Empire, Otto himself married Queen Adelaide of Italy. Still later, in order to make an alliance with Constantinople, he sought a Grecian princess as a bride for his oldest son. This policy of control by family alliances was very effective in Otto's case, but was hardly adapted to the permanent maintenance of a strong monarchy. In fact, only a strong personality could have accomplished what Otto did. The descriptions of him which his contemporaries have left all show that his appearance and character were equally forceful; he was tall and strong and of royal bearing.

Hungarians and Slavs

The invasions had been renewed as soon as the death of Henry had become known to the Hungarians, who were flushed with the successes which they had won in a triumphant pillaging expedition into France and Italy. In fact, they had gotten plunder from as far as Aquitaine in the former country and Naples in the latter. The war against them was taken up with great spirit by Otto and after minor engagements they were finally routed on the river Lech, in 955. After this there was no great Hungarian invasion; but the Slavs to the northeast and east were a constant source of danger. The representatives of Otto attempted to check their advance, by slaughtering them when conquered and by planting in their territory German colonies. During his reign Otto won a number of victories against these Slavs and annexed a considerable portion of their territory, but he did not succeed in crushing them, as he had crushed the Hungarians.

When Henry the Fowler was crowned it is said that he rejected the anointing by the church, although the archbishop of Mainz had been anxious to participate in the coronation. Henry said, "Enough for me that I am raised so far above my forefathers as to be called and designated as king, through the grace of God and your devotion: let the unction and the diadem be reserved for better men than I am. I do not think myself worthy of

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Coronation of Otto

so great an honor." Otto took an entirely different position at the time of his coronation. The ceremony took place in the cathedral at Aachen. The archbishop of Mainz met him as he entered the church and hailed him as "the man chosen by God, formerly designated by our lord Henry, and now made king by all the princes." After the people had declared their adhesion to Otto, the archbishop gave to him in turn the various insignia of royalty. First the sword, saying, "Receive this sword and with it drive out all the enemies of Christ, heathens and evil Christians alike, by the divine authority granted to you by the power over the whole kingdom of the Franks, to the lasting peace of all Christians." Then, as he placed upon Otto the royal mantle, he said, "The border of this mantle, trailing upon the earth, is to remind you that however fiery your zeal for the faith may be, you are to endure until the end in preserving peace." Lastly with the scepter and the staff he charged the ruler, "Let these be to you a warning that you use a fatherly discipline towards all who are subject to you; and above all reach out the hand of pity to the ministers of God, to all widows and orphans, and may the oil of mercy never be wanting to your head, that you may be crowned with an eternal crown both in this life and the life to come." After he had received the various insignia, Otto participated in the service of the mass.[1]

Otto and the Clergy

This procedure at the coronation was significant of the position which Otto intended to maintain. He intended to use the clergy in order to check the growing power of the feudal nobles; but as the members of the clergy held fiefs or benefices, like the other nobles, they were required to perform all the feudal duties. On the other hand they were especially honored by the king and most of the administrative offices were given to bishops or abbots. In order to maintain his control over the church Otto used the same policy as he had done with regard to the duchies; his brother was made archbishop of Cologne and chancellor of the kingdom; and one of his sons was made archbishop of Mainz. In this way, while he strengthened the church, Otto intended that it should serve him.

The position which Otto had won for himself in Germany made him the natural object of appeal from Adelaide of Italy. She was the nineteen-year-old widow of one of the two rival kings in Italy and her husband's rival was now determined to marry her. From the prison into which he had thrown her to break her spirit she appealed to Otto for aid. The latter made a triumphant expedition into Italy, rescued and married the queen, in 951,

[1] See Emerton: Mediaeval Europe, p. 111. From Widukind.

but was unable to carry out his purpose of visiting Rome as he was recalled by rebellions in Germany. Ten years later he made a second expedition to Italy because he had been asked for aid by the discontented in Rome. The pope was an entirely unworthy man and had alienated most of the inhabitants of the city. No one had received the imperial title since the death of Berengar, in 924; now it seemed best to many that the office should be restored and Otto was the logical candidate. He was quite willing, and in 961 he went to Rome, and was recognized as emperor on February 2, 962; with him Adelaide was crowned as empress. After the coronation the Roman constitution of Otto and the so-called donation were drawn up and signed.[2] In these documents Otto renewed the grants of Pippin and Charlemagne, but at the same time stipulated that popes in the future should be canonically elected, and the pope-elect should not be consecrated until he had taken an oath "in the presence of our legates, or of our son, or of the general council."

Otto Becomes Emperor

The pope had joined in the summons of Otto because he had felt the need of protection. Soon after Otto left the city the pope again began to lead the dissolute life which had previously alienated his subjects. When Otto learned this, he returned to Rome and summoned a synod to try the pope. The latter was absent and made no defense against the charges of murder, perjury, robbery, and other grave crimes. As he had refused to return to Rome even under a safe conduct from Otto and denied the competence of the court, he was finally deposed in his absence. He seems to have taken the matter rather quietly, but when he received the message telling him of the action, he replid that if the members of the council attempted to elect any one else pope, he would excommunicate them. When the council sent a second messenger to him, the latter could not find him, as he had gone hunting. Under these circumstances another pope was elected in his place. From this time on, for about forty years, the choice of the pope was determined by the emperors, although the latter were careful to observe all the formalities.

Emperor and Pope

The empire of which Otto had been crowned emperor was thought to be, of course, the continuation of the old Roman Empire. Otto was regarded as the successor of Augustus and Trajan and Constantine and Charles the Great. But in reality the empire was something quite different from any that had existed before. The name by which it was later known, "the Roman Empire of the German Nation," was very fitting, because it was

"Roman Empire of the German Nation"

[2] This is now generally believed to be genuine, although it has been the subject of long controversies.

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really the union of the Roman imperial position with the kingship of Germany. Some of the lands included in it had lain outside of the Roman Empire. In comparison with the empire of Charles the Great it was much less extensive, including only Germany and about two-thirds of Italy. If to these there should be added the kingdoms which were more or less in subjection to Otto, the territorial extent would be greatly increased; but there would be little real addition to his power. In his ideals as emperor Otto also differed greatly from Charles; he did not think of himself as the representative of the divinity and as having a special duty to watch over the morals of his subjects. His empire was not as firmly organized as the Carolingian. It would have been impossible for him to employ *missi* and he did not attempt it; what could be done to weld the nation together by his own personality he accomplished, but that was all.

Results for Germany and Italy

The connection with Italy and Rome brought to the Germans a higher civilization than they had known before. It also brought about a political relation with the Italian peninsula which was destined to influence the course of history for many generations. It prevented either Germany or Italy from becoming a strong and united nation, as Germany exhausted her men and resources in the attempt to maintain the imperial power in Italy, and Italy was unable to develop a nationality of its own, because of its subjection to the foreign emperor.

The latter years of Otto the Great were busy ones, but contained few incidents which had a lasting influence upon the civilization of Europe. When Otto II succeeded, in 973, he devoted his attention mainly to Italy. He was a son of Adelaide, the Italian queen. He had received as good an education as could be obtained in Germany, and this was vastly better under Otto the Great than it ever had been before; for under his rule learning was made much of at the royal court. Consequently Otto II, when he became king at eighteen years of age, was filled with visions of the glory of Rome and with a desire to carry out the conquest of southern Italy which his father had begun; but in 982 he was disastrously defeated and escaped capture only by a lucky chance. He died the following year, twenty-eight years of age, and left a son who was only three years old.

Otto II, 973–983

Fortunately Otto the Great had done his work so thoroughly that his grandson was recognized as the heir to the throne without serious opposition. This Otto was grandson of the Italian queen and son of a Greek princess, the daughter of the emperor Romanus. He had inherited all of the Byzantine ideas of the imperial power. Both the grandmother and the mother were

Otto III, 983–1002

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learned and pious women, and they did all in their power to train the young boy for his task. His mother took it for granted that he was to be emperor and that she herself was the empress. As *Imperatrix Augusta* she controlled Italy until her son became of age in 996, that is, when he was sixteen years old. At that time he was as well educated as the best teachers had been able to make him; he knew Greek, Latin, and German; he praised himself for his Greek subtlety, in comparison with the German barbarism. He had had as his tutor Gerbert, the most learned man of the age,[1] and soon became known as the "wonder of the world," because of his wide learning and great ambitions. His ideal was to have his capital at Rome, but he did not neglect the struggle against the Slav invaders, and he paid considerable attention to German administration. Yet his main interests centered in Rome, although he was usually ill when in Italy. His great ideal was his predecessor Charlemagne, and in the year 1000 he is said to have solemnly opened the tomb of the latter and to have looked with emotion upon the figure of the great emperor; from the finger of Charles he is said to have taken a ring which he always wore until his death.

Otto III and the Papacy

Almost as soon as he began to rule in person he had his cousin Bruno elevated to the papacy and the latter took the title of Gregory V. The election of Bruno marks a change in the history of the papacy. For two hundred and fifty years there had been only two popes who were not born in Rome or the immediate vicinity, but from this time on, although the Roman Church generally supplied most of the candidates, a pope might be chosen from any part of the Christian world. The change emphasized the universal character of the papacy and did much to restrict the power of the nobles in Rome. Gregory V immediately crowned Otto emperor, and the latter proceeded to put down the Roman noble Crescentius, who had been ruling the city for over ten years. He was taken and hanged and the rebellion ended. After the death of Gregory V, Otto selected Gerbert, his old tutor, who had previously been archbishop of Reims and archbishop of Ravenna. The latter took the name of Sylvester II, and seems to have hoped that Otto III would follow the example of Constantine and renew the latter's gift to a second Sylvester. Otto, however, had no intention of resigning control over the city, and a contest between the emperor and pope was averted only by their close friendship.

Otto proudly bore the titles of *Italicus, Saxonicus, Romanus, servus Apostolorum,* and *servus J. Christi.* And in reality he

[1] See Chapter XVI.

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use the lesser nobility as a support against the great suzerains both lay and ecclesiastical. He favored the former and succeeded in establishing the hereditary character of the fiefs which these lesser nobles held. He was able to do this the more easily because the heredity of the greater fiefs had already become customary in Germany. He favored the creation of exempt abbeys, thus weakening the power of the bishops, although the latter were of his own choice and largely under his control. He also made the towns more of a factor in his kingdom by granting to them market and minting privileges. He fostered internal peace and a strict administration of justice which redounded especially to the advantage of the non-noble classes. Through the support of the petty nobles he was able to lessen the power of the dukes; he also persuaded the Bavarians, in 1027, and the Swabians, in 1038, to accept his son Henry as their duke. He began to build up a group of ministerials from men of the lower nobility who should be hereditary servants of the crown and should constitute the official class. Having such men in his employ enabled the king to dispense, to a great extent, with the services of the leading churchmen in his administration.

From the very first Conrad's policy caused discontent among the great nobles and a widespread rebellion followed. This was closely connected with, and in part caused by, the Burgundian succession. The kings of Burgundy had been unable to check the development of feudalism in their dominions and had gradually seen the power escaping from their hands. Rudolf III, the last of the Burgundian kings, had no children and was hard pressed by his rebellious vassals and also by the possibility of his land being absorbed by France. He had turned to Henry II for aid and had promised him the succession in Burgundy. Conrad contended that he, as king of Germany, had inherited the claim, but Rudolf denied any obligation. There were three other claimants, including Duke Ernest of Swabia. Rudolf was eventually compelled to accept Conrad as his heir, and after his death, in 1033, Burgundy was annexed to Germany.

Acquisition of Burgundy

The rebellion in Germany had been put down very quickly and all participants except Duke Ernest had returned to their allegiance. He submitted and was pardoned, but never became entirely loyal. Finally he again entered into open revolt; but Conrad's power had become so firmly established that Ernest got no assistance from the other nobles. Almost all of his own vassals, except Werner of Kyburg, sided with the king, and he ended his days as a highway robber, residing in the least accessible positions of the Black Forest, where he was slain in 1030.

Duke Ernest

CHAPTER XV

THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

Elective or Hereditary Monarchy

UNDER the Ottos the German kingship had become practically hereditary; even the child Otto III had been recognized, without any real opposition, as the heir to the throne. But when he died without leaving offspring, there were three claimants and an election was necessary. Henry, duke of Bavaria, was the successful candidate and ruled until 1024. After his death, as there was no direct heir, there was again an election, which resulted in the choice of Conrad of Franconia. The throne was occupied by him and his descendants for over a hundred years and the old elective principle was apparently abandoned. But Conrad had been obliged to recognize it and had persuaded the leading noblemen to consent to his son's coronation when the latter was only ten years of age. After his son, his grandson and great-grandson secured the crown by hereditary right. This was due in part to the general tendency to regard all fiefs as hereditary.

For feudalism was firmly established in Germany. The dukes, margraves, and archbishops were very powerful as almost independent rulers in their lands and as overlords of many vassals. The archbishops were also influential because of their position as officials of the church. Henry owed his election mainly to the support of the church. Throughout his reign his policy was to favor the church officials, give them immunities, and to use them as a counterpoise to the dukes and margraves. For this reason he was cordially supported by the church and later became known as Henry the Saint.[1] But he kept a firm control over the bishops and by their aid, and especially through the agency of the Cluniac monks, Henry was able to repress much of the feudal warfare and to restrain the nobles.

Henry II, 1002–1024, and the Ecclesiastical Nobles

Conrad II also owed his election to the support of the church, but he followed a very different policy from Henry. The latter, while using the bishops and abbots as a check upon the great lay nobles, had made the churchmen so powerful that they were now almost as much of a menace to the king's authority as the dukes and margraves were. Consequently Conrad decided to

Policy of Conrad II, 1024–1039

[1] The reason usually assigned for the bestowal of the title "saint" is not borne out by the facts.

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in constant danger, he sold the papal office to a member of the reform party who took the name of Gregory VI. It is eloquent of the degradation of the papacy that a reformer should take this desperate step to rescue the office from Benedict, and that other reformers, including Peter Damiani and the leading Cluniacs, should openly rejoice that "the dove with the olive branch had returned to the ark." But Benedict soon attempted to regain his position and Sylvester still claimed to be the rightful pope. Each had his partizans and it is said that in 1046 all three rivals were living in Rome, one at the Lateran, a second at St. Peter's, and the third at St. Maria Maggiore; and each was styling himself pope.

Such a state of affairs was intolerable and Henry III was summoned to Italy to straighten out matters. This was partly due to the fact that Henry had abandoned the policy of his predecessors and associated himself closely with the clerical party interested in the reform of the church and its emancipation from lay control. He had been led to do this by his marriage with Agnes of Aquitaine, a descendant of the founder of Cluny, who influenced her husband greatly. By some historians the decline of the medieval German empire is traced directly to Henry's abandonment of the Ottonian policy of controlling and using the church, which Conrad had so clearly followed. Henry was apparently blind to any danger in his change and allowed a degree of freedom on the part of his clerical vassals that was extraordinary. The abbot of Dijon refused to take the oath of fidelity because "it was contrary to God's word and Benedict's command." The bishop of Liége claimed in the king's court that Henry could not bring a bishop before his court for an ecclesistical question, because in such matters the bishop owed obedience to the pope alone; and the other bishops agreed in this point of view. Such pleas would not have been allowed by Conrad. This may have induced Henry to accept the summons to Italy by which he might expect to get control over the papacy.

Henry III and the Reform Party

In 1046 Henry crossed the Alps with an army made up largely from contingents furnished by his clerical vassals. In Pavia a synod was held in which the practice of simony[2] was condemned and Henry promised to refrain from it in the future. Thereby he deprived the crown of a considerable source of its income, as the bishops and other high officials had been expected to pay for their nominations. At Sutri a council was held in December to which all three claimants to the papacy had been summoned.

Deposition of the Three Popes

[2] Simony was the act of buying or selling sacred offices or prerogatives. It takes its name from Simon Magus. See Acts, Chap. 8.

Gregory and Sylvester obeyed and were deposed because they confessed themselves guilty of simony. Benedict was not present, and was deposed by a council held at Rome a little later.

Henry, as king of Germany, had no canonical right to interfere in papal elections, and asked the Roman nobles to choose a pope. Instead they conferred on him the office of patrician of Rome, which gave to him the chief voice in the choice of the pope. He selected the bishop of Bamberg, who as Clement II was consecrated on Christmas day and immediately crowned Henry and Agnes as emperor and empress. Clement died in October of the following year and rumor asserted that he had been poisoned by Benedict IX. The latter forced his way into Rome and again assumed the papacy. He was driven out eight months later and a second German pope, selected by Henry, ruled for twenty-three days and then died suddenly. Henry next selected the bishop of Toul and the latter consented on the condition that his choice should be approved by the Roman clergy and people. When he reached Rome in 1049 he was favorably received and became Pope Leo IX.

The German Popes

He was determined to reform the church and especially to root out simony and clerical concubinage. For these purposes he held many councils, but he soon realized that more far-reaching methods were essential in order to strike at the root of the difficulty; the clergy must be freed from all lay domination and power must be concentrated in the hands of the pope if the church was to be reformed.

Policy of Leo IX, 1049–1054

In 1049 Leo was invited to be present at the consecration of the church of St. Remi at Reims. He accepted the invitation and announced that he would at the same time hold a council. This irritated the French king, as it was generally held that no pope could hold a council in France without first consulting the king, which Leo IX had neglected to do. Consequently in order to frustrate the pope the king ordered all of his vassals to attend a feudal levy at the very time that the council was to be held. This placed the bishops and abbots in France in a very difficult position: they were ordered by the pope to attend the council; they were ordered by the king to attend the levy. The king hoped that his action would prevent the holding of the council, but Leo IX went on with his preparations without paying any attention to the king's act. At the appointed time the council was held and in addition to churchmen from other lands about one-third of the bishops and abbots from the king's territory attended. Those who were absent with the king were excommunicated by the pope. Then the latter took up the cases of simony and other

Council at Reims, 1049

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crimes which were reported. Several of those who were present at the council and held high offices in the church were accused of very serious offenses. Leo did not push any of them to an extreme, even when the guilt seemed definitely known, but adjourned all of the cases to his own court at Rome. He acted in the same way with regard to the accusations made against the great nobles. By this policy he hoped to have the authority of the papacy fully recognized. He was able to accomplish so much because of the weakness of the French monarchy. In other attempts at reform he was aided by Henry III of Germany with whom he worked apparently in complete concord. He died in 1054 without having an opportunity to see the full effect of his act which had done so much to strengthen the power of the papacy.

This concord between the Empire and the papacy was to be rudely disturbed by the death of Henry III in 1056. His son and heir was Henry IV, a boy of about six years. During his minority rebellions were frequent in Germany and the great nobles attempted to regain the power which had been lost under the strong kings. The boy was in the possession of one party and then another, who strove for the power. He grew up headstrong and passionate, because he was flattered and unrestrained by those about him. When Henry attained his majority he attempted to make himself absolute ruler and directed his attention especially to Saxony, whose duke he held in captivity. He resided more frequently at Goslar and the Harzburg, both in Saxony, than anywhere else. To defray the expenses of his court he demanded unusual contributions from his clerical vassals. He confiscated the property of rebellious nobles and demanded from the tenants, many of whom were free peasants, services which were not in accordance with Saxon customs. He built castles to defend his possessions and garrisoned them with vassals from Swabia who exacted contributions from the neighboring lands. These oppressive measures and unusual demands led to wide-spread revolt in Saxony. The leaders demanded the release of their duke, the evacuation of the king's castles and other reforms. The other nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, did not support Henry, whose tendency toward absolutism they feared, and he was obliged to free the Saxon duke and submit to humiliating agreement with the Saxons. Under these circumstances he turned to the pope for aid and wrote a very humble letter in which he fully confessed his own sins and sought aid from Gregory: "Alas! Sinful and in misery, partly owing to the impulse of youthful temptation, partly owing to the freedom of our unrestrained and mighty power, partly also owing to the

Youth of Henry IV

seductive deception of those whose plans, we, too easily led, have followed, we have sinned against heaven and in your sight and are no more worthy to be called your son. For not only have we seized ecclesiastical property, but also we have sold the churches themselves to unworthy men, although infected with the poison of simony and entering not by peace but otherwise, and we have not defended them as we ought. And now, because we alone without your aid are not able to reform the churches, concerning these as moreover concerning all our affairs we earnestly seek at the same time both your aid and your advice; being most desirous to obey your commands in everything."

Hildebrand, Gregory VII, 1073–1085

The pope to whom Henry appealed was Gregory VII, or Hildebrand. Hildebrand was of humble birth and had received his education in a monastery. He had followed into exile Gregory VI, in memory of whom he later took the name of Gregory. He had resided at the monastery of Cluny and had become impressed with the reform ideals. He had accompanied Leo IX to Rome and from that time had continued in the service of the papacy. By his ability and piety he won prominence and was universally recognized as worthy of honor. He was strongly ascetic in his nature; e.g., he had, he says, given up eating onions because he found he liked their taste. This little detail is characteristic of the man. He was the heart and soul of the movements in the church toward reform and asceticism. After being the power behind the throne for many years he was suddenly elevated by acclamation to the papacy in 1073. His tumultuous election was contrary to the canons and violated the new law which he himself had aided in forming in 1059, when the pope, Nicholas II, had published a decree concerning elections to the papacy. By this decree the cardinal bishops were to take the lead and to elect with the assistance of the cardinal priests. After that the Roman clergy and people were to approach and consent to the election, but the laity were to have practically no voice; even the emperor or king was to have only a shadowy right of participation. The pope was to be chosen from the Roman Church, if possible. This decree was accepted by the German advisers to the king; but later an imperial forgery was promulgated by which a much larger place was given to the king. In spite of the nature of his election Gregory was recognized by Henry, who needed his aid.

Reforms: Sacerdotal Celibacy

In his attempts at reform Gregory had alienated a large part of the clergy, especially in southern Germany. At that time most of the priests were married, although such marriages were not in accordance with the canons. Still the custom was widespread and met with little, if any, opposition from the parishioners.

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Gregory felt that a married priest could not give his whole service to the church as a man would who had no family ties. Moreover, to his ascetic spirit, the marriage of a priest seemed entirely wrong as well as contrary to the canon law. Consequently he ordered all the priests to give up their wives and children, and, when he found the priests unwilling to comply, he ordered that their parishioners should not recognize them as priests and should pay them no tithes.

Lay Investiture

In 1075, realizing his opportunity because of the weakness of Henry, Gregory took another step toward the reformation of the church and declared that there should be no lay investiture. The wording of the decree has not been preserved, but a later decree on the same subject reads: "Inasmuch as we have learned that, contrary to the establishments of the holy fathers, investiture with churches is, in many places, performed by lay persons; and that from this cause many disturbances arise in the church by which the Christian religion is trodden under foot: We decree that no one of the clergy shall receive investiture with a bishopric or abbey or church from the hand of the emperor or king or of any lay person, male or female. But if he shall presume to do so he shall clearly know that such investiture is bereft of apostolic authority, and that he himself should lie under excommunication until fitting satisfaction shall have been rendered."

Duties of the Clerical Officials

The church officials at that time held a twofold position: they were in the service both of the church and of the state. To the kings they owed feudal services for their lands; and it would have been impossible for the king to maintain his position if practically one-third of his kingdom which was held by the members of the church should have been taken away from his control. On the other hand it was essential that the members of the clergy should be freed from all lay control and be brought wholly under the authority of the church, if there was to be effective reform under the centralized power of the pope. The twofold duties made the contest almost inevitable and gave to each party in the coming struggle a position which from his own standpoint was unassailable.

Gregory's Letter to Henry, 1075

Gregory sent the decree concerning lay investiture and a letter to Henry. The ambassadors came to the court of the king just as he was celebrating a great triumph which he had won over the Saxons. For the first time the young monarch felt himself really supreme in Germany and he had gathered a brilliant assemblage to keep the Christmas festival with him. Under these circumstances the decree could not meet with his approval or assent

and his displeasure was greatly increased by the letter of the pope and the verbal message which the messengers brought. The letter began: "Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction: — that is if he be obedient to the apostolic chair as beseems a Christian king. Considering and carefully weighing with what strict judgment we shall have to render account for the ministry intrusted to us by St. Peter, chief of the apostles, it is with hesitation that we have sent unto thee the apostolic benediction."[3] The pope continued by pointing out to Henry his sins and the fact that he was wholly under the authority of St. Peter and St. Peter's successor, the pope. The pope told the king that he must not be puffed up over his recent victory over the Saxons and must bear in mind what happened to Saul after the victory which, by the prophet's order, he enjoyed; and how he was chidden by God when he boasted of his victory, not carrying out the commands of the same prophet; but what favor followed David for the merit of humility amid the distinction of valor.

Henry was intensely angry. While his letter of 1073, which has already been quoted in part, began, "To the most watchful and best beloved Lord Pope Gregory endowed from heaven with the apostolic dignity, Henry by the grace of God king of the Romans renders most faithfully due submission," the king's answer in January, 1076, began, "Henry, king not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk." Continuing, the king asserted that Gregory had tried to set himself up wrongfully over the whole church and was attempting to assert an illegal authority over the German king. "For himself the true pope, Peter, also exclaims: 'Fear God, honor the king.' But thou dost not fear God, dost not honor in me his appointed one. Wherefore St. Paul, since he has not spared an angel of heaven if he shall have preached otherwise, has not excepted thee also who dost teach otherwise upon earth. For he says: 'If any one, either I or an angel of heaven, should preach a gospel other than that which has been preached to you, he shall be damned.' Thou, therefore, damned by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and by our own, descend and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, who shall not practise violence under the cloak of religion, but

Henry Attempts to Depose Gregory

[3] This and some other passages are from translations in Henderson's Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. Some slight changes have been made in the translations.

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shall teach the sound doctrine of St. Peter. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, do say unto thee, together with all our bishops: Down, down, to be damned throughout the ages."

At the same time the king forced the bishops who were present, some of whom were already under the papal ban, to write a letter which was addressed "to brother Hildebrand," in which they recounted various crimes with which they charged Gregory, and asserted that they would no longer recognize him as pope. The letters of Henry and of the bishops were carried to the pope and presented at a synod. The bold speech of the bearer exasperated all who were present and Gregory in person had to protect him in order to save his life. Immediately the pope proceeded to excommunicate Henry and to release his subjects from all obedience to him. As he said, "Confident of my integrity and authority, I now declare in the name of the omnipotent God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that Henry, son of the emperor Henry, is deprived of his kingdom in Germany and Italy; I do [illegible] and in defense of the honor of thy church, because he has rebelled against it."

First excommunication of Henry

At the same time the pope wrote a letter to the bishops and [illegible] setting forth his side of the case and seeking support. Because of the unpopularity of Henry and the hostility [illegible] a formidable conspiracy was soon formed against the [illegible] to counteract this Henry summoned a new national council, but very few of his subjects attended. Instead, the [illegible] held a meeting at Tribur, in October, 1076, and [illegible] what should be done, as they wanted to depose the king [illegible] to humble him. Henry was willing to agree to anything [illegible] position, provided he was not deprived of [illegible] assembly finally decided that Henry should [illegible] under guardianship at Spires, and unless [illegible] the pope from the ban of excommunication [illegible] he was to forfeit his throne. He was further- [illegible] to agree to submit to the pope. "In accordance [illegible] subjects, I hereby promise to show hence- [illegible] and obedience to the apostolic office and to [illegible] further promise to make suitable repara- [illegible] honor which you or your office may have [illegible] And since I have been accused of certain [illegible] will rather clear myself by presenting proof of [illegible] undergoing the ordeal or else I will do such [illegible] decide to be adequate for my fault."

Gregory's Letter to Henry, 1076

[illegible] compelled to humble himself, he was [illegible] might escape and regain his old position.

The pope had promised to take no action with regard to Henry until he met the German princes and they had decided together what should be done, but the pope, as a priest of God, was obliged to pardon any sinner who was sincerely repentant and promised to do suitable penance. Henry saw the weakness of the pope's position and took advantage of it. He escaped from the city of Spires and with a few faithful followers hastened to Italy. Gregory was already on his way to Germany, but when he heard of Henry's approach he retreated to the castle of Canossa, which belonged to one of his most faithful adherents, the countess Matilda of Tuscany. Thither Henry went in order to force a pardon from the pope. When he reached the village at the foot of the hill on which Canossa is situated, he found a number of his own bishops who had preceded him in order to obtain their forgiveness from the pope. After some delay Henry was successful and at the price of great personal humiliation won a diplomatic victory. The events were described by the pope in a letter which he wrote to the German princes, in order to excuse himself for having violated his oath to them: "Finally he came in person to Canossa, where we were staying, bringing with him only a small retinue and manifesting no hostile intentions. Once arrived, he presented himself at the gate of the castle barefoot and clad only in a wretched woolen garment, beseeching us with tears to grant him absolution and forgiveness. This he continued to do for three days, until all those about him were moved to compassion at his plight and interceded for him with tears and prayers. Indeed, they marveled at our hardness of heart, some even complaining that our action savored rather of heartless tyranny than of chastening severity. At length his persistent declarations of repentance and the supplications of all who were there with us overcame our reluctance, and we removed the excommunication from him and received him again into the bosom of the holy mother church."

Canossa

Although the pope insisted that the matter was not at all settled, yet Henry was a free man and his subjects were bound to obey him. He carefully prevented the pope from going to Germany and soon gained powerful support from the Lombards. Nevertheless his opponents in Germany met in 1077 and elected an anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia. But Rudolf found support only in Saxony, and his own subjects refused to obey him. A long and bloody struggle ensued during which Germany was devastated. Finally, in 1080, Gregory renewed the ban against Henry; but this time the excommunication had practically no effect; few of Henry's supporters left him. In fact, the tide had turned

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strongly in the king's favor and most of the bishops and archbishops declared Gregory deposed and elected an anti-pope.

Continuance of the Struggle

The struggles which ensued, now that there were two rival kings and two rival popes, were exceedingly bloody. In all portions of Germany except Saxony, in northern Italy and in the city of Rome, the people were divided. In Germany Henry could count upon the support of the cities which he had especially favored and which were now very important; of the parish priests, except in Saxony, because of Gregory's attitude toward their marriage; and of many of the bishops. In opposition to the nobles who were against him he had put other men in their places so that each noble had to struggle against a rival claimant. In northern Italy, where bishops appointed by Henry were in power, the orthodox were on Henry's side and the numerous heretics against him. In the city of Rome the nobles aided Henry and the common people sided with the pope. Civil war, marked by the greatest atrocities, ravaged a large part of Germany. In 1080 a great and bloody battle was fought between Rudolf and Henry, in which the former lost his life, after having his right hand cut off in the fight. This was judged by many to be a decision from heaven in favor of Henry. A contemporary chronicler reports that Rudolf said as he was dying, holding up his mutilated arm, "Look, this is the hand with which I swore fealty to my king."

Free from his rival at home, Henry determined to drive Gregory out of Rome and to install his own pope. In 1081 he went to Italy to besiege Rome, but instead of taking it easily, as he had expected, he found that many months must be spent under its walls before he was able to conduct his anti-pope into the church of St. Peter's. The Roman nobles promised to secure him the imperial crown, either from Gregory VII, or, if the latter refused, from another pope who should be substituted in the place of Gregory. But Gregory refused absolutely and Henry was compelled to enter the city again at the head of an armed force; and on Easter Day, 1084, he and his queen were crowned by the anti-pope. Gregory VII was compelled by the hatred of the Roman nobles to withdraw from the city. The following year he died at Salerno and it is reported that his last words were, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

Last Years of Gregory

Neither the coronation of Henry nor the death of Gregory made any real difference in the condition of affairs. Henry IV could not gain the support of Saxony; the duke of Bavaria was won over to the papal side by marriage with the countess Matilda

Last Years of Henry

of Tuscany, who was over forty years old, while the bridegroom was seventeen; but the latter counted confidently upon receiving all Tuscany with his bride. Henry's wife and his oldest son turned against him in 1093. Until 1097 Henry's followers were in a desperate state, but were somewhat relieved when Welf of Bavaria repudiated the countess Matilda because he found that she had already bequeathed Tuscany to the papacy before their marriage. After the death of Conrad, the king's oldest son, Henry, the second son, who had been made king by his father, deserted him and once more civil war prevailed throughout Germany. Finally Henry IV was compelled to abdicate and died soon after, in 1106. His corpse was transferred from one temporary tomb to another, as he had died excommunicate, until after five years Henry V celebrated a temporary victory over the pope by solemnly burying the father whom he had hounded to death.

As soon as Henry IV died Henry V took practically the same position in regard to lay investiture that his father had done, and the strife was postponed only because the German king was occupied by wars against the Poles and the Bohemians. In 1110 the pope renewed the threat of excommunication against all who interfered with canonical elections, and the following year Henry crossed the Alps in order to extort his own terms from the pope. The latter at this time had very few supporters; the Normans, who had been the chief reliance in the past, were now busy in the Orient. Consequently, Pope Paschal proposed that the church should give up all its feudal possession in Germany which had been acquired since the time of Charles the Great, so that the bishops and priests should no longer be vassals; in return the king and lay lords were to give up the right of investiture. Under these conditions the pope agreed to crown Henry V as emperor. On the coronation day the pope's charter abandoning the church's possessions was first read in St. Peter's. Tumult broke out at once among the churchmen and the church was filled with riotous nobles and clergy. Henry, who had anticipated this, seized the pope and the cardinals and held them prisoners until the pope yielded and granted him the right of investiture. Henry received the imperial crown and was fully triumphant. It was then that he returned to Germany and buried his father.

Henry V, 1106–1125, and Paschal II, 1099–1118

Almost immediately the clergy began to besiege Paschal with letters and entreaties that he should repudiate his agreement, and finally this was accomplished in 1112 and Henry was excommunicated. Rebellion again broke out in Germany and events dragged on, with the election of an anti-pope, until finally in 1122 after

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Concordat of Worms, 1122

long negotiation the concordat of Worms was agreed upon. By this contract the emperor gave up the right of investing members of the clergy with the ecclesiastical insignia, the ring and the staff. The church was free to elect its own officials, but in Germany all elections were to be held in the presence of the emperor or his representative and in case of disputed elections he was given some control in the decision. This meant practically that Henry had the determination of who should be the church officials in Germany. In Italy and Burgundy the members of the clergy were to hold elections and the emperor was to bestow the feudal insignia upon whomsoever they might choose. There has been much dispute concerning the question which won most by this compromise; each had won something, the pope rather more than the emperor; but the question was by no means settled. The conflict over investiture gave place to other phases of the conflict between the emperor and the papacy, mainly because it was realized that the question was practically insoluble as long as the officials of the church were also vassals of the king.

Some Results of the Struggle

The long struggle, together with the contemporary events, had had many important results. The elections to the papacy were no longer dictated by the German monarchs, and there was a division between the two powers which led to further strife. The lay nobles in Germany had attained a more important position, and from this time on played a rôle which weakened the powers of both the monarch and the church. The cities, especially in the Rhineland, had received many privileges which made them more independent of the bishops and brought them into direct relations to the king; this meant a gradual rise of a third estate into power. Possibly most important of all was the intellectual ferment caused by the contest. Each party had attempted to justify its position by arguments drawn from history, from the secular and canon laws, from scripture, and from custom. Many pamphlets had been written on both sides, appealing to public opinion. This was the beginning of political pamphleteering in the Middle Ages. All of this caused an eager study of history and law by many. The conflict of ideas led to a weakening of the tendency to follow blindly any authority, which had been so characteristic of the medieval man. There was some lessening of the respect for the ban of excommunication, which seemed to many to have been used wholly as a political weapon, and there were also more people aroused to the danger to the church from its worldly possessions.

CHAPTER XVI

FRANCE, 887–1108

BY the treaty of Verdun in 843 Charles the Bald received all of the West Frankish kingdom, extending from the North Sea to the river Ebro in the southwest and to the Mediterranean Sea in the southeast. On the west it was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south it had some protection from the Pyrenees; but on the east there was no such natural boundary. Not only was there a constant temptation to make conquests from the territory of Lotharingia, from which there were also attacks, but there were invasions from the south by the Saracens, and raids all along the western coast by the Northmen. To add to the difficulties of the ruler, there was no unity in the kingdom. Brittany and Aquitaine became vassal kingdoms, and thus over half of Charles' territories were taken away from his direct control. Even in what was left he had comparatively little power because of the rapid development of feudalism. Charles tried in vain to check his rebellious vassals by sending out *missi* and requiring all freemen to take an oath of fidelity to him as king. His capitularies show that he had the same exalted ideas of his power as Charles the Great. But the circumstances rendered most of his capitularies null and void and compelled him constantly to treat with his own vassals and make concessions to them. At times it was the invasion, or danger of invasion, by his brother, Lewis the German, with whom his vassals were plotting; at other times it was the incursions of the Northmen who were a constant menace and with whom occasionally the disaffected nobles united. In spite of their disloyalty and lack of obedience, Charles was unable to punish his counts or to deprive them of their offices, which they regarded as theirs by hereditary right.[1]

Kingdom of Charles the Bald, 843–881

When Charles was preparing for his expedition to Italy in 877, he summoned his nobles to Kiersey and asked from them guarantees of their own loyalty and also against usurpations by his son, whom he was leaving as regent. The nobles acted with great outward respect, but refused to give their advice upon every vital point which the king raised. Finally the king was compelled to

[1] See Chapter XI.

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Capitulary of Kiersey

act without the advice of his own vassals and promulgated the famous "capitulary of Kiersey," which he intended as a check upon his son's power. By it he allowed his son to make only temporary appointments of successors to any counts who might die during his absence, reserving the regular appointment for himself. But he recognized clearly the hereditary right of a son to succeed his father as count and, moreover, ordered that all the bishops, abbots, counts, and other tenants in chief should observe the same rule with regard to their vassals.[2]

Carolingians and Robertians

No king for centuries would be able to regain what Charles had lost, either in the territory actually under his control or in the power which he was able to exercise. Little, of course, could be done by Louis "the Stammerer," the son of Charles, who ruled only two years, or by his sons, Louis and Carloman, who divided the kingdom between them, but had to purchase the consent of their vassals by concessions of privileges. Then ensued the disastrous reign of Charles the Fat. After his abdication the nobles set aside the hereditary claims of Charles, the posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, who was only about nine years old, and chose Eudes, count of Paris, son and heir of Robert the Strong. He had been the hero in the defense of Paris in 886, and now "in beauty, size, physical strength and wisdom outshone all others."

Eudes, 888–898

With Eudes king and his brother Robert holding the county of Paris, Anjou, Touraine, and Blois, there seemed little place left for Charles the Simple. But there were still enemies of the Robertians and partizans of the Carolingians, and among them were the archbishop of Reims, the duke of Aquitaine, the count of Flanders and other important noblemen, both lay and ecclesiastical. When Eudes, although successful at first, proved unable to defend the kingdom against the Northmen, a rebellion broke out. The archbishop of Reims crowned Charles in 893 while Eudes was absent on an expedition in Aquitaine. Both parties looked to Germany for aid. Arnulf, who succeeded Charles the Fat in Germany, had recognized Eudes at the time of his election, but in 894 was won over to aid Charles. A civil war lasted until 897, when Eudes gave a portion of the kingdom to his rival and probably promised him the succession.

Charles the Simple, 898–923

At all events, when he died, January 1, 898, Charles was unanimously chosen king. Robert, the brother of Eudes, who had

[2] Before this matter was understood, it was assumed that Charles by this decree introduced the right of hereditary succession in fiefs; instead of initiating the custom, the capitulary expressly recognizes that it was already established.

received, in addition to the lands enumerated above, the great abbey of St. Martin of Tours and other benefices, was the most powerful man in France, but he made no objection to the election of Charles. The strife between the Carolingians and the Robertians seemed at an end, but was to continue after a brief intermission to be the chief feature in the history of France until 987.

Their temporary concord probably was due to the dangers from the Northmen, who plundered impartially the lands of the king and of the great duke, burning the latter's abbey of St. Martin in 903. Seven years later Rollo laid siege to Chartres. Robert and others rushed to its aid; with the bishop, bearing the sacred relic, the Virgin's chemise, they attacked and routed the heathen. Charles seized the occasion to make a treaty with the invaders, at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, by which the Northmen agreed to become Christians and received part of the land which later became known as Normandy. They were also allowed to ravage Brittany without hindrance from the king. This treaty freed the rest of the kingdom from the raids of the Northmen and also proved of real advantage to the land ceded to them. They had long before been in practical possession of the country around Rouen and between that city and the coast, and had sacked and harried it. Now they protected it and founded monasteries in their zeal for their new religion. The neighbors long referred to the ruler as "the duke of the pirates," but the land flourished under his stern and just rule. Towns sprang up or were rebuilt, and later songs told of the ideal conditions of peace and honesty which prevailed throughout the land. Undoubtedly the songs exaggerated the blessings of the Norman rule; but probably property was more secure in this land of the pirates than anywhere else in the French possessions. In addition to becoming enthusiastic, if sometimes peculiar, Christians, the Northmen also became Frenchmen, and in the later Middle Ages they were the main agents in the spread of the French language and civilization. Although this grant of Normandy had been caused by the difficulties in which the king was involved, it was the greatest accomplishment of Charles, whom his contemporaries characterized as the "Stupid," or the "Simple."

Cession of Normandy 911

This name, however, seems unjust to him in many respects, and he was possibly the ablest king of France during the period between 878 and 987. At all events, he made the only great addition to French territory which was secured during this period. Lorraine, which seemed destined to be a bone of contention between Germany and France, had always been strongly devoted to the Carolingians and still retained memories of Charlemagne,

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Charles, King of Lorraine

whose favorite residences had been within its boundaries. When the German nobles elected Conrad, the duke of Franconia, as king, those in Lorraine preferred Charles and proclaimed him their king. This was in the same year as the successful treaty with Rollo. Freed from the "fury of the Northmen," Charles was able to take possession of his new kingdom, where he preferred to live, rather than in France. He was able to defend Lorraine against Conrad, and the latter's successor was obliged to recognize Charles as its king. But probably his preference for the new kingdom led to his downfall in the old; the French noblemen were alienated by his partiality for Lorraine, and especially for a low-born favorite from that land who was given great power and many monasteries. They revolted in 922 and chose Robert king.

Rudolf, 923–936

The decisive battle was fought the following year near Soissons. Robert perished in the fight, but victory was snatched from the grasp of Charles by fresh bands under the leadership of Hugh, Robert's son. The latter, however, instead of seeking the kingship for himself, supported his brother-in-law, Rudolf of Burgundy, who was elected by the rebellious faction. Charles might still have overcome the rebel barons, but he was betrayed by one whom he trusted and was held prisoner until his death eight years later. His wife, the daughter of the king of England, fled with her two-year-old son, Louis, across the sea to seek refuge at her father's court. Rudolf was thus freed from his rivals but was not master of the kingdom. Lorraine was definitely lost, the Normans were opposed to him, and it was only after the death of Charles that Rudolf won a victory which removed the Norman peril; not until after the death of Rollo did his successor, William Longsword, do homage to King Rudolf. The Hungarians ravaged portions of France more than once in the first ten years of the reign. The nobles in the south refused to acknowledge Rudolf until after his victory over the Normans. Some of his own partizans deserted him. In fact, while the second half of his reign was less unfortunate than the first, Rudolf was never free from anxieties and enmities. In spite of some successes, the net result of his reign was a diminution of the royal domain and the increase of the power of the duke of Normandy, his strongest vassal.

The Last Carolingians

After Rudolf's death three Carolingians were kings, but they owed their office less to their own strength and following than to the prudence of the head of the Robertian house. The latter was Hugh, called the Great, son of Robert and brother-in-law of Rudolf, and also uncle of Louis d'Outre-Mer, whom he sum-

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Louis IV, d'Outre-Mer, 936–954

moned from his refuge in England to be king of France. The latter was both able and proud. He chafed at the power and guardianship of Hugh, and the two soon became enemies and continued so as long as they lived. The king, without great territorial possessions, was the less powerful of the two, especially because Hugh was allied with Otto the Great of Germany, who invaded France in 940. Five years later Louis was captured and held prisoner by Hugh for a year. Then he owed his release mainly to the fact that he had gained the support of Otto the Great, whose sister he had married. How little power he really had may be judged from the humiliating scene in 948 when he was reduced to pleading his cause before an assembly of bishops, mainly from Germany and presided over by Otto the Great. He told them that he had only one city, Laon, and that this had been taken away from him by the trickery of Hugh the Great. "It was the only city in which I could shut myself up, the only one in which I could take shelter with my wife and children; what was to be done? I preferred life to the possession of the city; I yielded it and gained my freedom. Now shorn of my property, I beg the counsel of all. If the duke dares to deny what I say, I defy him to single combat." Moved by this appeal, Otto and the bishops compelled Hugh to give back the city and to do homage to his king.

Lothair, 954–986

Louis owed such power as he possessed to the support given him by Otto and the church. When he died in 954, his son Lothair was elected without opposition, as Hugh did not covet the kingship. The newly elected king was only thirteen, and Hugh was the all-powerful regent until his death in 956. Then Lothair fell under the dominion of Otto and his churchmen, especially Otto's brother, Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne, who gave the chief benefice in France, the archbishopric of Reims, to a bishop of Lorraine. As long as Otto the Great lived, Lothair was very submissive; he had to be. When Otto II succeeded, Lothair attempted to be independent and even to conquer Lorraine. He did get possession of Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, but had to retire in three days, as he was without provisions. In turn Otto invaded France and pitched his camp at Montmartre, which is now a part of Paris. In turn he was compelled to retreat. Lothair was now anxious for peace, and the two kings made an alliance, Otto promising support against Hugh Capet, the son of Hugh the Great and the hereditary enemy of the Carolingians. When Otto died in 983 and was succeeded by an infant of three years, Lothair supported the rebels in Germany with some success. This aroused the partizans of the Ottos in France, es-

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pecially the archbishop of Reims and his schoolmaster, Gerbert, who began to plot to substitute Hugh Capet as king. In the midst of their intrigues, Lothair died, in 986, and left as his heir a youth of nineteen who had already been consecrated as his associate in 979, but who ruled as king for only a little over a year after his father died.

Loss of the Royal Income

The last Carolingians were weak because they had parted with practically all of the royal domain. Income and army, the two main requisites for a strong kingship, depended almost wholly upon the possession of a great fief and the kings had none. In fact, when we study the conditions, we are surprised at the strength, not the weakness, of these kings. For their officials and vassals had been granted or had usurped the royal prerogatives and rights in their fiefs. The income of the early Carolingians had been derived mainly from their estates or what would now be called crown lands; these had been lost to the crown, partly by grants to buy or reward support of the king; partly by usurpation by the king's servants. Gifts from the nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, tribute from the free men, plunder from successful warfare, had all contributed to the revenues of Charles the Great; but his weaker descendants could not exact gifts or tribute and seldom won booty. Two-thirds of the fines levied in the courts of justice had belonged to the king, but the tenants in chief had received immunities or usurped the right of administering justice and kept all the fees. Tolls for the use of bridges or roads and various custom duties had formerly been levied by the kings; all of these had passed to the vassals and many new ones had been exacted. Even the right of minting money, a considerable source of revenue in the Middle Ages, was now shared by the king with many of his vassals. Bishops had frequently been granted the privilege of coining money and the counts and dukes had usurped the right, so that before the close of the tenth century there was a bewildering variety of coins in use in France, and a large proportion of these did not bear the effigy or name of the king.

No Royal Army

He was unable to prevent the usurpations of his royal power, because he had no effective army. For greater ease in administration Charlemagne had made each count responsible for the levying and equipment of troops in his county, and thereby the royal government had ceased to have direct relations with the great body of the fighting class. With the decline of the royal power the counts had become the real commanders of the troops from their counties and led them to

the king's army or not, just as they thought best for their own interests. If they did obey the royal summons, the custom was becoming more and more fixed that they owed the military service for only forty days; in such a period of time little could be accomplished. This was especially true because of the changes in warfare due to the rapid increase in the number of castles. Almost every feudal lord had one or more castles to which he retreated for protection when threatened by danger. If the king wished to reduce a rebellious vassal to submission, he was almost always obliged to capture the castle in which the vassal had taken refuge. There were relatively few battles, but many long sieges. Because of the lack of effective siege-machinery a castle had to be taken by surprise or else reduced by starvation; for the latter a period of forty days was rarely long enough. And when the king had captured a castle and burned it, as was the usual custom, it was very easy for the rebellious vassal to build another, for wood was the almost universal material used in building both the castles and the surrounding walls. Consequently even when the king was successful, there were few lasting advantages gained, as the king had no regular army with which he could follow up a victory. In the period of the last Carolingian kings, feudalism had apparently won a definite triumph over the monarchy, which seemed to be restricted to a feudal suzerainty.

France was saved from being permanently parceled out among a large number of feudal lords, constantly at strife with one another, by the activities and service of the Capetian rulers during several centuries. But no one could have imagined that any such result would follow the transfer of the crown to Hugh Capet, in 987. He was a great feudal lord, holding the duchy of France; his brother was the duke of Burgundy; the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine had married his sisters. He was shrewd, energetic, prudent, able. He had gradually attached to his own cause all the leading members of the clergy. When Lothair died, Hugh had been able to win the support of his widow, so that when Louis died, the Capetian was in a very strong position. On the other hand, the only representative of the Carolingian house, the duke of Lorraine, was in open strife with the widow of Lothair, and being a vassal of Otto, was not looked upon with favor by many of the French nobles. An electoral assembly met at Senlis. The archbishop of Reims took the lead in the discussion, saying, "We are not ignorant that Charles had some partizans who pretend that he ought to have the throne by right of birth. We reply that the throne is

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not acquired by hereditary right; no one ought to be raised to it who is not distinguished both by noble birth and wisdom." Thus the archbishop of Reims insisted upon the elective character of the French monarchy. The new house whose founder he was championing would later have to struggle against this theory of election. But at this time it profited Hugh Capet, who was unanimously elected as "king of the Aquitanians, of the Bretons, of the Danes, of the Goths, of the Spaniards and Gascons, and of the Gauls." Of course, in the above enumeration the Danes referred to lived in Normandy, and the Spaniards, Goths, and Gascons in the south of what is now France.

Election of Hugh, 987

The first kings accomplished comparatively little. Hugh occupied the throne for only nine years and was successful in maintaining himself against the Carolingian claimant. He is a somewhat enigmatic personality; he seems to have been unable or unwilling to act energetically, and to have preferred cunning to valor, but, after he became king, his character appears in a more favorable light. No satisfactory description has been preserved of his personal appearance or habits. Of his son, Robert II, on the contrary, full descriptions are extant, which represent him as a man of attractive appearance, excellent manners, good education, and remarkable piety. He had been a pupil of Gerbert and had imbibed from him a love of books, a good knowledge of music, and an interest in theological studies. His biographers enlarge upon his charity, humility, purity, and piety, and describe miracles wrought in his honor. At the same time he was well trained in military science and showed himself an able commander when he was willing to undertake an expedition; e. g. he conquered the county of Burgundy after more than ten years of fighting. In spite of his piety he fell under the papal censure, because of an "incestuous" marriage. His first wife had been Rosala, or Susanne, of Flanders, who had been married before he was born, but now as the widow of the count of Flanders brought him an attractive dowry. This politic marriage lasted only a year; then Robert repudiated the bride and kept the dowry, Montreuil-sur-Mer. A few years later Robert, then twenty-three years of age, fell violently in love with Bertha, the wife of Eudes, count of Chartres, Tours, and Blois. She was about seven years older than Robert and was the mother of five children, but she aroused such a passion in the heart of the devout prince that he disregarded the wishes of his parents and braved the anathema of the church in order to possess her. Her husband died opportunely and complaisant bishops celebrated the marriage, in spite of the impediments

The First Four Capetians. Hugh, 987–996. Robert, 996–1031

which made such a union "incestuous" in the eyes of the pope. For Robert had been the godfather of one of Bertha's children and thus held a spiritual relationship to her which was incompatible with marriage; and, in addition, Bertha and Robert had the same great-grandfather and consequently, according to canon law, were related in the third degree. But Robert kept Bertha, and even when, after years of strife, he had yielded and married another wife, he still remained attached to Bertha and she had great influence. But she had given the king no heir and consequently her successor's son, Henry, ruled after Robert. No contemporary described Henry's appearance or character; some chroniclers stated that he was a "valiant and active warrior," but this commonplace throws no light upon his personality. His relations with the papacy and with Normandy will be discussed later; in spite of his long reign and constant wars, there is nothing else important enough to record here, unless it is his marriage with Anne, daughter of the grand-duke Jaroslav, which marked the first alliance between France and Russia and caused Henry's son and successor to bear the Byzantine or Greek name of Philip. The latter, who ruled for almost half a century, has the sorriest reputation of these early Capetians. But this is due mainly to his troubles with the church, which will be recounted later, as will his relations with Normandy and his territorial acquisitions. Aside from these topics there is little to be said of his reign; his character might be defended, in part, against the harsh criticism of the clerks who wrote the history, —if it were worth while. These first four rulers of the new house were important mainly in laying a foundation for the future greatness of their line, and even in this respect they achieved comparatively little.

Henry, 1031–1060
Philip, 1060–1108

They were weak both in feudal possessions and royal authority. When Hugh the Great died in 956 Hugh Capet had inherited from him the counties of Paris, Orléans, Senlis, and Dreux, and in addition was the lay abbot of St. Martin's at Tours and of St. Germain des Prés, on the bank of the Seine in what is now a part of Paris. From these extensive holdings he granted many fiefs in order to gain adherents against the Carolingians, and he was compelled to allow his more important vassals to become practically independent, for fear lest they might transfer their allegiance to the king. Consequently, when he himself became king, he held only a comparatively small amount of land under his own immediate control and this land was scattered in what are now ten or a dozen departments of modern France. The Capetian was no longer one of the

Weakness of the Early Capetians

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greatest landholders in the kingdom, and several of those who had elected him had greater resources. He had succeeded Carolingians who had suffered the power to pass into the hands of the feudal lords and church dignitaries, a process in which Hugh himself had been active. How was he to mend the work and to build up his authority in opposition to both feudalism and the church? As king he inherited very little power. He was not able to make laws which were even nominally binding, for local customs had superseded national laws. Even for his own fiefs he could not make any ordinance without the consent of his vassals. These conditions controlled the activity of all the early Capetians. Henry seems to have had the least actual power of any of them, and in his reign his feudal vassals were practically independent. Philip began deliberately to strengthen his position by adding to the royal domain which had been "reduced to almost nothing by the carelessness of his predecessors." No opportunity was lost and his acquisitions were numerous and widely scattered. This policy was to be followed with great effect by his successors. But Philip's own weakness is well illustrated by the value he set upon his acquisition of Montlhéry, a castle only a few miles from Paris, which he finally captured toward the end of his reign. "Guard this tower carefully," he said to his heir, "it has made me old before my time; the wickedness and perfidy of those who held it have never left me a moment of rest." Thus this "glorious king" had trembled before the power of a robber baron. Theoretically the monarch still had the same prestige as the early Carolingians, and almost everywhere in France charters were still dated by the year of his reign. As a matter of fact his authority was restricted by the power of his great vassals and by the church.

The Great Fiefs

In studying a map of France for any date in the eleventh century the great number of independent fiefs is the striking feature; but if a map for another date is taken, the change in the numbers and extent of the fiefs is the most noticeable fact; for there was no stability and a map can be accurate, if at all, only for a given moment in that century. But certain great fiefs stand out and were constant factors, although with frequent changes in boundaries and power. First were the duchies: Normandy, which will be discussed in the following paragraph; Burgundy, which was usually in the possession of one of the Capetians, either the brother of the king or the king himself; Aquitaine, the largest of all the fiefs; Brittany, which in its isolation seems scarcely a part of the kingdom and long remained a sad, desolate, rude land, its inhabitants preserving their old customs, costumes, and character-

istics. Then there were the great counties: Flanders, with its advantageous position for commerce; Blois and Champagne, which made it difficult for the king to add to his domain on the south or east, as Flanders and Normandy did on the north and west; Anjou, which was so strong through its rich lands in the valley of the Loire; Toulouse and Barcelona, in the far south, with idioms, customs, and civilization far different from those in the north. In the south too was the duchy of Gascony, not really a part of the kingdom until its annexation in the middle of the eleventh century swelled the power of Aquitaine. Within the confines of the royal domain, or the duchies, or the counties, were a third great class of feudatories: the bishops who were also counts. The episcopal city was frequently under the authority of the bishop, and the kings found it expedient to favor him as a possible check to the power of the count. Sometimes the kings went farther and gave a whole county to a bishop in whose election they had a voice and sometimes a determining part. Thus the Carolingians had given to the archbishop the county of Reims and to the bishop the county of Langres. The Capetians were equally liberal, or politic, and granted counties to the bishops of Laon, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon. These bishop-counts later became the six ecclesiastical peers of France. In addition, other bishops, e. g. of Paris, and many abbots were given lands and feudal power, partly from piety, partly from custom, but also at times as a deliberate policy in order to build up a rival to the local feudatory.

Relations with Normandy

The most important vassal was the duke of Normandy. His land had prospered in the tenth century and he had become more and more valuable as an ally of the French king and more and more dangerous as a potential enemy. For he controlled the lower course of the Seine and thus could prevent any commerce by this river. But the Norman dukes long remained faithful vassals of the Capetians. Richard the Fearless, the son and successor of William Longsword, had married Emma, the daughter of Hugh the Great. Richard II, surnamed the Good, helped King Robert in his conquest of Burgundy. His grandson, Robert the Devil, sided with Henry I in his war against his mother and brother at the beginning of his reign and contributed in no small degree to the king's success. When he started on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from which he never returned, Robert asked Henry to recognize his bastard, William, the son of the tanner's daughter of Falaise. At the time of his father's death, in 1035, William was about eight years old, and until he reached his majority he was protected by the king against rebels among

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his own vassals. A decisive battle at Val-des-Dunes, near Caen, was fought in 1047 and won for William by the assistance and personal prowess of the king. But William's ability, ambition, and constantly increasing power soon led to a change in the king's attitude, and from this time on the Capetians usually did all in their power to weaken the dukes of Normandy. They encouraged rebellious vassals in Normandy, aided the dukes' sons in revolts, and occasionally fought battles themselves. Henry was twice defeated by William and each time had to make an unfavorable peace. William's power was increased by his marriage with Matilda, daughter of the count of Flanders, and by successful wars, especially by the conquest of England. The last took place during the minority of Philip, when Baldwin of Flanders, William's father-in-law, was regent of the kingdom, and the latter did nothing to hinder this undertaking which was fraught with so much potential danger to the French monarchy. When Philip took the government into his own hands, he did all that he could to embarrass the successive dukes, but with little success, except on one occasion when he received a considerable bribe from William the Conqueror on condition that he should no longer assist the latter's son, Robert Curthose, in his rebellion. The struggle with the powerful dukes, who were usually also kings of England, was a legacy which would determine many lines of Capetian policy for the next hundred years.

Moreover, while the kings remained at home, comparatively powerless, the great nobles were adding to their power by conquest abroad. In Spain, for example, the Normans, Aquitanians, and others won glory and booty in fighting against the Mussulmans. In Italy and Sicily the Normans acquired in about sixty years (1016–1078) a great extent of territory which was to become in the following century the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

The Two Sicilies

In 1016 some Normans returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land stopped at Salerno, where they were begged by the people to assist them against the Saracens, who were attacking them. The Normans soon won the victory and were urged to remain. The rich gifts and offers of the Salernitans did not tempt the pilgrims, who said that they had fought only "for the love of God"; but the news which they carried home led many adventurers to seek their fortunes in southern Italy. There the diversity among the inhabitants, Greeks, Italians, Lombards, and Saracens, made it easy for the Normans to secure a foothold. Soon little bands were holding strong positions from which they plundered indiscriminately both infidel and Christian. The latter made reprisals and killed many of the Normans, but more flocked to the scene

of booty. The most famous of the leaders were the three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, William Bras-de-fer, Roger and Robert Guiscard. The last made himself very formidable. He was "a blond Hercules, a model of manly beauty, with eyes flashing fire." At first from his rocky eyrie he plundered the passers by, thus getting weapons and supplies. Then he made raids, driving off flocks and herds, and holding prisoners for ransom. By these means and by the accession of other adventurers, he became strong enough to capture castles and cities, to conquer Campania, Apulia, and Calabria. Pope Leo IX became alarmed and put himself at the head of an army of Italians and Germans to crush the adventurer. But at Civitate, in 1053, he was completely defeated and fell into the hands of the Normans. The latter professed sorrow and begged him to lay upon them a penance "equal to the sin they had committed" in warring against him. Thus began the association between the papacy and the Normans of southern Italy. In 1059 the pope Nicholas II recognized Robert as duke of the lands which he had conquered or might conquer, the latter became the pope's vassal and promised him support. Sicily was soon conquered from the Saracens; on the main land the important cities of Amalfi (1073) and Naples (1078) were acquired. The attack on the Byzantine Empire by Robert Guiscard will be described in a later chapter.

What chance had the Capetians against such vassals? Hugh, the first of the line, was only a feudal lord who had received the title of king without any material accession of power to enable him to support his regal estate. But he and his successors used their position as kings to make their feudal overlordships more effective; and at the same time their suzerainty, to make the royalty more powerful. They seem to have had a dim conception of the double rôle they filled and the possibilities it contained. The policy of the Capetian house for the next three hundred years might be summed up as the realization of the union of the anointed kingship and the feudal overlordship. The support of the clergy was absolutely essential and they were usually able to secure it, even at times when they were in opposition to the papacy. The monarchy was elective, but each king had his own son crowned during his own life-time when he was able to dictate the election. By great good fortune each king had a son to succeed him, for a period of over three centuries. Moreover there were only two minorities and in most cases each monarch ruled for a long term of years. From 987 to 1314 there were only eleven kings, so that the average length of the reigns was almost thirty years. They avoided as far as possible placing

Policy of Early Capetians

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authority in the hands of powerful nobles and chose as their agents men of humble birth who would be obedient to them. The officials were generally selected from the members of the clergy who, because of the vow of celibacy, could not found families which might become a source of danger.

Early Relations with the Church

Hugh, as already noted, was lay abbot of great monastic foundations. He was always generous to the church, and in his coronation oath had promised to maintain the canonical privileges of the clergy and to defend them as far as was in his power. But he got into trouble with the papacy by degrading the archbishop of Reims, who had been in rebellion against him, and substituting Gerbert. The pope refused to recognize his right to depose an archbishop; Hugh kept the archbishop a prisoner and forbade his bishops to go to Rome or to papal councils and most of his bishops supported him. Robert was a pupil of Gerbert, loved theological studies, and was noted for his charity, purity, and piety, but he chose his own bishops and, if necessary, used force to seat his candidate, when the canonical electors were recalcitrant. The pope allowed him to do this. When he made his uncanonical marriage with Bertha, he attempted to win the pope's consent by giving up Gerbert, releasing the former archbishop and restoring to him his see. But the pope excommunicated him; and he had to make his submission, at least in form. Later he showed his piety by burning heretics at Orléans. Both Hugh and Robert, in spite of their high-handed procedure, were favorable to the reform of the clergy.

Reforms: Institutions of Peace

Cluny was engaged in a valiant attempt to reform the lives of the monks and the conditions in the monasteries. Both Hugh and Robert aided in this. The clergy also wanted to place some checks upon the constant feudal wars which were devastating the land, and in particular injuring the property of the church; after various attempts they inaugurated the Peace of God, which was received enthusiastically by the masses. An idea of its purport may be gathered from some of the provisions of the oath which Robert was asked to swear in 1023: viz., that he would not attack members of the clergy who did not carry weapons; that he would not carry off ox, cow or any other beast of burden; that he would not seize a peasant man or woman or merchants, or take away their property; that in war he would not destroy or burn houses or vineyards. Every one who took the oath was expected to become a member of the league to enforce the peace, and to aid the clergy, merchants, and peasants against oppressors. To supplement this protection accorded to certain classes, the church added the Truce of God, which should prevent all fighting

at certain times. This was first instituted in 1027 for the bishopric of Elne,[3] where all fighting was interdicted from the ninth hour on Saturday till the first hour on Monday. The idea spread in the south of France and in 1041, from a council held at Nice, several bishops and the abbot of Cluny wrote to the clergy of Italy, asking them to adopt the Truce from Wednesday evening till Monday morning. "Thursday was sacred because of the ascension of Christ, Friday because of the passion, Saturday because of the adoration at the tomb, Sunday because of the resurrection." Soon whole sections of the year were added: Advent until the Octave of Epiphany, from Septuagesima Sunday till the Octave of Easter, the week of Pentecost, the fasts of the four seasons, all the festivals of the Virgin, of St. John the Baptist, St. Martin, and others. The French king favored these institutions of peace, but they had very little success, as the new ideals were contrary to the whole tenor of feudal life, and there was no power strong enough to enforce the decrees of either the Peace of God or the Truce of God.

Celibacy; Against Simony and Lay Investiture

The kings were no less favorable to the attempts of the church to reform its own members, by enforcing celibacy for all secular as well as for the regular clergy. But this met with a determined resistance from many of the canons and priests and some of the bishops who had wives and children. Their opposition was reinforced when the church attempted also to check simony and thus interfered with the income of the kings and great nobles. The decree against lay investiture added to the strength of the opposition, but there was no great struggle in France such as there was in Germany. King Henry's unsuccessful opposition to the holding of a council at Reims has already been noted. Philip's later opposition to the pope was of little more avail, although he was supported by many of the bishops. In particular, after his marriage with Bertrada of Montfort, he was weakened by his excommunication and by the general knowledge that it was deserved. But he practised simony openly and unblushingly. On one occasion an unsuccessful candidate for a bishopric reproached Philip for having sold the office to his rival. Philip advised him to have his rival degraded for simony and then perhaps he might get the office. But finally after much turmoil in many parts of France, when Paschal II became pope, Philip showed himself ready to compromise and be reconciled with the pope. He did penance and outwardly gave signs of submission and the pope appeared satisfied. The king no longer gave the investiture with the ring and the staff, and

[3] On the Mediterranean, close to Spain.

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no longer received feudal homage from the bishops. But he still had the faithful support of the bishops in his dominion, who still took the oath of fidelity, and he was on excellent terms with the pope.

The real interest of the history of France in the eleventh century is not to be found in the policies of the kings, but in the activities of the various classes of the population. Something has been said about the expeditions of the nobles outside of France. Those who remained in the country were very frequently to be found on the highway: going to the court of their suzerain to render homage, obeying the summons to war, or attempting to avenge some injury or to increase their fortunes by attacking their neighbors. Private warfare was general, and caused great suffering to the peasants. The members of the clergy were also compelled to travel: the bishop to the churches in his diocese, the priests to receive instructions from their bishops, members of all ranks to attend the frequent councils. Some were obliged to go to Rome to prosecute appeals or answer for their conduct to the papal curia, many went to some one or other of the schools in France to improve their education. The merchants were constantly traveling, both within the country and to other lands far and near. Medieval trade was conducted by men who went in person to the place where they could secure their wares, and then carried these from place to place until they had succeeded in disposing of them. The agricultural peasants felt the impetus to leave their homes when they were oppressed by the ravages which accompanied the private wars; then, in the hope of improving their condition or of escaping starvation, some fled to the growing towns. Others sought to better themselves by going to the *villes neuves,* or new cities, of which more will be said later. Men of all classes undertook pilgrimages to the shrine of some saint, to Rome, or even to the Holy Land. The mobility of the population was much greater than has been generally supposed and opportunity for advancement lay open to any one, even the son of a serf, provided he had ability.

Mobility of the Population

Gerbert

The career of Gerbert, although his was a very exceptional one, shows what was possible. He was born just before the middle of the tenth century, the son of a poor peasant. His natural ability came to the attention of the monks and secured his entrance to their school at Aurillac, where he soon distinguished himself. Some years later the duke of the Spanish March happened to come to Aurillac on a pilgrimage and was induced by the abbot to take Gerbert back with him to study. The latter spent about three years in Spain acquiring the mathematical

knowledge which was later to make him such a well-known character in legend. Then an opportunity offered for a visit to Rome, where he attracted the attention of the pope, who sang his praises to the emperor Otto I. Gerbert was persuaded to accept a position as teacher in the imperial court and consequently did not return to Spain. But he was insatiable in his search for knowledge, and after a single year asked the emperor's permission to go to Reims to study philosophy. There his learning won him favor in the eyes of the archbishop, who appointed him master of the cathedral school. During the next ten years students flocked to hear him, and Gerbert's reputation spread far and wide. It reached the ears of Otric, a noted teacher at Magdeburg, who sent one of his pupils to attend Gerbert's courses. From the report of the pupil, Otric thought that Gerbert was mistaken in some points of metaphysics, and he hastened to expose the error of his famous rival. Otto II, who knew Gerbert well, brought the two scholars together and arranged a debate between them. The main points in their debate have been preserved in the writings of one of Gerbert's disciples. It was held in the presence of the emperor and his attendants, who listened all day to the scholastic arguments which are now difficult to understand. Gerbert won their applause, his ideas were approved, and his fame increased. A little later Otto gave him the abbey of Bobbio, and he became a vassal of the emperor. Unfortunately he found the discipline in the monastery very lax, and much of the property dissipated. His attempts to restore order and to recover the abbey's property aroused opposition and involved him in difficulties which compelled him to ask help from the emperor. When the latter died and was succeeded by a mere infant, Gerbert found himself in such straits that he was obliged to return to Reims and again take up his duties as schoolmaster; but he retained the title of abbot of Bobbio. His residence there had lasted less than a year.

Gerbert, Politician and Pope

Gerbert now devoted much of his attention to politics. He worked assiduously in the interest of the child Otto III, whose vassal he was. Together with his archbishop, he strove to thwart the attempts of King Lothair to obtain Lorraine, and secured the aid, or at least the neutrality, of Hugh Capet. After the death of Lothair and his son Louis, Gerbert was the main factor in bringing about the election of Hugh. He became the tutor of the latter's son and successor, Robert. He was elected archbishop of Reims, but his election was of doubtful legality, as the former archbishop had been deposed without the pope's sanction. Consequently Gerbert found himself involved in a

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struggle to maintain his position, and the struggle was mixed up with the politics of France, Germany and the papacy. After the death of Hugh, Gerbert's position was no longer tenable, and he withdrew to the court of Otto III, who rewarded his past loyalty and future support, first by giving him the archbishopric of Ravenna, and then by making him pope in 999. He took the name of Sylvester II and labored to build up the power of the papacy and also of the Empire. He and Otto had magnificent dreams of what might be done by a pope and an emperor working together, but death removed both within a very few years, Otto in 1002 and Sylvester in 1003. A curious fatality seized upon the memory of the latter; his conduct as pope had been exemplary, but he became known in legend as a wizard; even the more kindly disposed thought of him as too much devoted to profane learning, and the name of Sylvester came to have an unsavory reputation, so that it has always been shunned by later popes, with the single exception of Sylvester III, who took the name before the legend had become established. As a matter of fact, it was by his learning that Gerbert had become prominent and has remained famous both in history and legend. He constructed globes and other apparatus for his students, and was able to solve problems which are now simple enough, but then were regarded as insoluble except by occult aid. He excelled in each branch of medieval learning, and his pupils, although with less skill and knowledge, handed down his teachings to succeeding generations. Education in France, Germany, and Italy was deeply indebted to the peasant boy, the master politician, the pope.

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Early Kingdoms

NO contemporary accounts of the German conquest of Britain have been preserved. We are compelled to construct a narrative from the meager notes of Roman annalists and from the writings of men who lived from a hundred to four hundred years later. Naturally there has been much controversy, and very few definite statements can be made. Probably the invasions continued for a century or longer; the Angles settling on the east coast from the Firth of Forth as far south as the river Stour, and gradually extending their conquests half way across the island; the Saxons holding most of the land to the south of the Angles; the Jutes occupying modern Kent, the Isle of Wight, a little strip on the opposite coast, and, at the end of the sixth century, the extreme southeast. The natives still held the extreme southwest and all north of Bristol Channel — about half of the whole island. But there was no unity either among the invaders or the natives; there may have been a score of petty kingdoms, native and German, of which possibly a dozen were founded by the latter. Gradually some kingdoms became more definitely established, and the more important were known as Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex — the so-called heptarchy. But this name is misleading, as the number and extent of the kingdoms varied. Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were the strongest, and each in turn became the most powerful.

Early Institutions

The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes probably either brought with them their wives and children, their flocks and herds, or sent back for them after conquering a foothold in the land. These tribes had been remote from Roman civilization, and were apparently still in the state of barbarism described by Tacitus in the *Germania*. There has been much controversy as to the extent to which they exterminated the native peoples. Undoubtedly the slaughter was great, and many Britons fled to the west, but many were held as slaves. Some Celtic words for household articles crept into the language of the conquerors, but in most respects the newcomers held to their own customs; they disliked to live in the cities or walled towns which they found, preferring the woods and the

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open country. Many of the old centers of population were destroyed or fell into ruins, and while a few may have survived, e. g. London, they were entirely insignificant. The Anglo-Saxons were not traders, but farmers, each living on his own; consequently they allowed roads to go unrepaired and the bridges to crumble away. They dwelt in small villages, cultivating the land and practising a few rude handicrafts. A freeman seems usually to have had a hide of land, i. e. approximately one hundred and twenty scattered acre strips, of which one-third to one-half was allowed to lie fallow each year. They raised horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, and, most important of all, hogs, which got their own living in the forests. Barley was the chief grain crop. They made butter, cheese, beer, and mead; but much of their food was obtained by hunting or fishing. Their political institutions, too, were similar to those described by Tacitus. A freeman was a warrior and felt very independent; the king had obtained somewhat more authority during the wars of conquest, and was surrounded by his chosen followers, who were gradually evolving into an aristocratic class; bondsmen or slaves were probably more numerous than in the days before the migration. The invaders were still pagans and the kings boasted of their descent from Odin, the god of war. They had some poems and songs which were put into written form soon after they came into contact with the Roman writing in Britain; the most noted of these is the story of Beowulf, the slayer of dragons.

The capital event of the seventh century in English history was the conversion of the barbarians to Christianity, partly by the efforts of St. Augustine and his associates, partly by monks from Ireland. This and the decision to follow the Roman customs rather than the Irish have already been described. Soon after the decision had been made, Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk, was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury by the pope, and to him was due the unification of the English Church under the leadership of Rome. He had found some of the sees vacant because of the ravages of the plague, and these he filled with men of his own choice. Four years after his arrival at Canterbury he held "the first council properly so called of the English Church," and ordered that councils should be held annually. He gradually increased the number of bishoprics from seven to fifteen, all under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. These bishoprics were usually located in villages or monasteries; in this way Theodore hoped that the bishops might be kept untainted by the world. He was conscious of the need of a better educated clergy and in the school of Canterbury provided for teaching in Greek, scrip-

Organization of the Church

tural subjects, and Gregorian music, as well as the ordinary branches of the trivium and quadrivium. He was very zealous in his efforts to raise the standard of morality among both clergy and laity. Although he was comparatively an old man when he first landed in England, for over twenty years he worked steadily and vigorously until death ended his labors in 690, when he was eighty-eight years of age. The national church which he organized is his most enduring monument.

The school at Canterbury was not the only one; in fact, there were many others — how many we do not know — at various monastic centers; for the Rule of Benedict, with its provisions for study, had been introduced into England by Wilfrith, sometime bishop of York, a contemporary of Theodore, and learning was being eagerly sought after. One of these schools, Jarrow, has been made famous by the residence there of the greatest scholar of the age, Bede. The events of his life may be recounted very briefly: when seven years old he was sent to school in the monastery at Wearmouth; at nineteen he became a deacon; at thirty, a priest; he spent his life at Wearmouth and Jarrow. "There is no evidence that he ever wandered from the banks of the Wear further than to York, which he visited shortly before his death," in 735. Bede would have resented such a summary of the "events" of his life; the events to him were the acquisition of some new knowledge, the receipt of a document which he could use in his history, the discovery of a promising student among those whom he was teaching. He said, "I have always taken delight in learning, teaching, and writing." His achievements in these three lines were remarkable: he mastered all the learning of his age; he taught six hundred monks besides many laymen; he wrote more than forty separate works, of which *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* is the best known. For this he sought information from every possible source, papal letters from the archives at Rome, records from Canterbury, "writings and traditions of our ancestors," accounts of contemporaries. As the result of his labors, it is the most important work on the early history of England. Among his contemporaries, Bede's many commentaries on the scriptures were highly esteemed. But "the father of English learning" was too much of a teacher to be content with writing only for the learned; he wrote lives of saints, a martyrology, a book of hymns; in his last days he translated the *Gospel of John* into the vernacular, so that all might understand it. He worked to the very end of his life, and one of his pupils has left a touching account of the sick man eager to complete his task, and, when it was ended, chanting

Bede

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Glory to God. He who was "first among English scholars, first among English theologians, first among English historians," has been called in modern times "the Venerable Bede."

English Missionaries

Inspired possibly by the example of the Irish, the English churchmen were very active in missionary work. Because of their similarity in race and customs, they were especially successful among the Germans on the continent. The work of Willibrord, Boniface, and others who had been trained in England has already been mentioned. Some of the archbishops of Canterbury were instrumental in correcting abuses in the Gallic Church and thus aided in raising it to a position that made it later a source of inspiration and reform for England. Alcuin[1] and the other scholars worked under the Carolingians and did much to spread the fame of English schools and learning. In the eighth century the English Church seemed destined to have a bright future.

Growth of Unity

In political matters, too, this period seemed to show marked advance. In place of the petty kingdoms with their constant internal strife, larger units emerged. In the seventh century, Northumbria was the most powerful kingdom and its rulers were recognized, to some extent, as holding sway over almost all of England as well as part of Scotland. It was in Northumbria that the great scholars and missionaries were trained, the literary works written, the libraries gathered. Northumbria also took the lead in commerce at this time. But toward the close of the century it met with disastrous defeats and the supremacy passed to Mercia, which retained it throughout almost the whole of the eighth century. It was especially fortunate in being under the rule of two able kings, Æthelbald and Offa, for fourscore years, from 716 to 796. The latter conquered the Welsh, driving them farther westward, and erected a defense along the new frontier, "Offa's Dyke," which became practically a permanent boundary between England and Wales. At the beginning of the ninth century Eggert, king of Wessex, who had lived for thirteen years at the court of Charlemagne, increased his power by conquests until, in 830, he forced all England to recognize his overlordship. But this seeming unity had been brought about by constant fighting which had greatly weakened all the English, and had not achieved a real union of the various peoples.

Consequently England was too weak to meet the strain when it was exposed to renewed invasions by the Danes. In 787 came "three ships of the Northmen from the land of robbers." "These were the first ships of the Danish men that sought the

[1] See Chapter X.

land of the English nation." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from which these quotations are taken, recounts, six years later, that "the harrowing inroads of heathen men made lamentable havoc in the church of God in Holy-island, by rapine and slaughter," but the following year it was able to record a victory over them, with the slaughter of some of their leaders and many of the boats' crews. There is no other certain mention of the Danes in the Chronicle until 832, when "heathen men overran the island of Sheppey," but after that entries are frequent. In 837 the Chronicle begins to speak of them as "the army"; alternate victories and defeats are recorded, but it is clear that the number of the invaders was steadily increasing and the attacks were more terrifying. In 851 "the heathen now for the first time remained over winter in the Isle of Thanet." "The same year came three hundred and fifty ships into the mouth of the Thames," but the men of Wessex "made the greatest slaughter of the heathen army that we have ever heard reported to this present day." In spite of this victory, that year may be taken as a turning point in the history of the invasions; from that time many of the Danes wintered on the coast and they no longer made sporadic forays in small bands. In 865 "the army" overran Kent; the next year they "fixed their winter-quarters in East Anglia and the inhabitants made peace with them." In 868 they wintered in Mercia; the following year, in York; in 870 they overran Mercia and destroyed all the monasteries. In 871 nine general battles were fought south of the Thames, nine earls and one king were slain and "the West Saxons made peace with the army." These meager notices from the Chronicle are eloquent of the ever present danger and of the weakness of the opposition. Fortunately, in 880 most of the army went oversea to ravage France. In the meantime many Danes had settled in the north and east and had gradually established there their customs and laws so that about half of England was in their possession and was known as the Danelaw.

When Alfred came to the throne the Danes were successful almost everywhere and met with no general resistance, as we have seen. Every one lost heart, "all but Alfred the King," as the Chronicle states. He succeeded his brother in Wessex in 871 and his first task was to rouse his subjects to resistance against the Danes. After many failures he defeated them in 878 in the battle of Ethandun; their king and many of his followers accepted baptism. The withdrawal of "the army" to plunder in France gave Alfred the opportunity to strengthen his kingdom of Wessex and, in particular, to build a fleet for better protection when

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the invaders should return. This they did in 893, and Alfred was able to beat them off. In the meantime, in 886, he had made the treaty of Wedmore with those resident in England by which the boundaries of the Danelaw were defined and all the south and west of England was under the authority of Wessex.

Alfred's Work

Alfred won his position by his successes in war, but he is best known for his achievements in peace. He was fond of learning and was intensely interested in education, possibly because, "through the carelessness of his upbringers, he abode even unto his twelfth year, unable so much as to say his letters." From his own words we get a vivid picture of the decline of education that had been caused by the Danish inroads. "So clean was learning fallen off among the English Folk, that few there were on this side Humber that could understand the Service in English, or even turn an errand-writing from Latin into English. And not many were there, I ween, beyond the Humber. So few they were that I cannot bethink me of so much as one south of Thames, when first I took the kingdom." He at once set to work to improve conditions. He gathered learned scholars from abroad to his court. "Never suffered he an unlettered man to hold any ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever." He fostered monasteries, which became centers of teaching. He translated several works into English; among these were Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, the *History of the World* by Orosius, and the *Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius. He gathered together, revised, and published the laws of his predecessors. The code begins with a free rendering of the Ten Commandments, and some of the laws from Exodus, followed by material from the New Testament. This is characteristic of Alfred, who was very religious and felt that the Biblical precepts were as important for his people as the laws enacted by his predecessors. A noteworthy fact in his code was the omission of any distinctions between the English and the Welsh which had been present in the earlier laws; he was trying to bring all under one set of laws. He was so great and so much beloved that later ages falsely ascribed many achievements to him; this would have grieved him if he could have foreseen it, for one of the titles he most thoroughly deserved was "Alfred the Truth-Lover."

The Making of England

His descendants during the next half century found their most difficult task in the continuation of Alfred's struggle against the Danes. They were successful because they were able to build upon the foundation which he had laid so firmly. For, partly as a result of the war against a common foe and partly through Alfred's legislative and other work, Englishmen were more united

than ever before, and there was less probability of their again being divided among a number of rival kingdoms. But the Danes still held all of the north and seized every favorable opportunity to make raids upon the south. Gradually the successive kings conquered the Danish lands; while victories like Brunanburh made a greater impression upon the contemporaries, the most successful policy was that of building fortifications within the enemy's territory, from which the surrounding country could be conquered. This policy was carried on especially by Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, "the Lady of the Mercians," of whom we know very little; but that little has caused her to be called "the most remarkable woman of the whole Anglo-Saxon era." Her brother Edward and the latter's son Æthelstan reduced the Danelaw to submission more easily because it was divided between several rival rulers and did not receive aid from oversea. But parts revolted repeatedly until the reign of Edgar the Peaceful (959-975). At his coronation, which was delayed until 973, Edgar was recognized as the king of all England and six or eight kings from Wales and Scotland acknowledged him as their overlord. Much earlier than this the growing prestige of the English kings had been shown by the extent to which other monarchs sought to form marriage alliances with them. Three of Æthelstan's sisters married kings, Charles the Simple of France, Otto the Great of Germany, and Louis of Provence, while a fourth was the wife of Hugh the Great of France. Through these continental connections the English court became a place of refuge for royalty or nobility in distress. Of these refugees the best known was Louis d'Outre-Mer, whose reign in France has already been described.

Reform of the Church. Dunstan

The closer connection with France aided in a much needed reform of the church, which was in a large part the work of Dunstan, the commanding figure in the second half of the tenth century. He was educated at the monastery of Glastonbury and through his uncles, who were bishops, he became one of the group of boys at Æthelstan's court. His associates found the dreamy youth, devoted to study, little to their liking and, by an accusation of dabbling in magic, procured his banishment from the court. It is of interest to recall that Dunstan was a contemporary of Gerbert, whose devotion to study brought upon him the same suspicion. The former was not as learned a scholar, but was more given to dreams and visions; many were the presages of misfortune vouchsafed to him. He was also a skilled worker in metals, making organs and a chime of bells, as well as rings. He was especially skilled in harping and illuminating. Mature

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men and high-born ladies found in him a genial companion. He became abbot of Glastonbury at a very early age and after a banishment, which did him credit, he returned to become bishop of Worcester and of London, and finally primate of England, without resigning the other two sees. Instances of pluralities were only too common in England in this and the following century. As archbishop of Canterbury he was known as "the soul of the reign" and is supposed to have been the most potent factor in political matters. But he is best remembered for the church reform with which he is associated. At Glastonbury he surrounded himself with pupils, one of whom, Æthelwald, afterwards came to be known as "Father of the Monks." For then there was little real monasticism in England, and the property of the monasteries was mainly in the hands of canons who were married, or of lay sisters who had not taken perpetual vows. As the Benedictine discipline was almost unknown in England, monks were sent to Fleury in France to learn it, and by them it was reintroduced. New monasteries were founded and old establishments were taken away from the married canons. Dunstan seems to have been less severe in his reforms than his associates and probably the more successful on this account.

He was a West Saxon, but did not hesitate to appoint Danes to bishoprics and other high offices. In fact, in his day the two races had been assimilated to a great degree and Anglo-Saxon institutions prevailed throughout England. The Danelaw, like the rest of the kingdom, had been divided into shires under ealdormen, or earls, and shire-reeves, or sheriffs; shires and dioceses were co-extensive, and ealdormen and bishops, together with the sheriffs, presided over the shire-mots, or courts. But these met usually only twice a year; most of the business was done in the hundred-mot, because the hundred was the most important administrative division. Its origin is unknown and it is supposed to have been indefinitely old, but it is first mentioned by name in the tenth century. Even then, in what had been the Danelaw, the corresponding division was known as a wapentake. In its court, held every four weeks, most of the cases, whether civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical, were tried. Probably the court was composed mainly of landholders, both lay and ecclesiastical, or their representatives, and was presided over by the sheriff or one of his subordinates. In case of lack of evidence compurgation was the most usual method of proof; ordeals were slowly creeping into use. There was a possibility of appeal to the shire-mot if a freeman could not get justice, but most cases were settled in

Anglo-Saxon Institutions

the hundred court. The hundreds were usually made up of villages surrounded by the open fields, or arable lands, the forests or wastes.[2] Apart from the hundreds, but included in the shires, were the boroughs or towns, fortified places, occupied by a population mainly engaged in agriculture, but also by some merchants; the boroughs were the sites of the markets where trade was carried on, and had their own courts. These divisions have been described before speaking of the king and his council, because the local units and local courts were the ones which most closely affected the life of the people and the prosperity of the realm. For the king, although his powers had increased greatly, had little control over local matters, and was regarded mainly as the war-chief and keeper of the peace. With the advice and aid of his witan, or council of wise men, he issued laws which were sometimes obeyed, appointed bishops and other high officials, and levied taxes.

The first tax to be so levied was the Danegeld, in 991. For toward the end of the tenth century the Northmen again began to make inroads upon the south of England. These raids met with little effective opposition because the king, Ethelred the Ill-Counseled, was incompetent, the monastic reform had aroused bitter opposition and internal strife, and the northern lands, the old Danelaw, were disaffected. Ethelred and his witan thought that it was easier to buy off the invaders than to fight them; the Northmen willingly took the money and went away, only to return in the near future to levy more blackmail. No real resistance was attempted and civil strife continued even when the enemy was harrying the land. It would be of little advantage to follow the dreary tale, recounting successive inroads of the Danes and the ever increasing payments of Danegeld. Finally in 1013, King Sweyn of Denmark landed in the north and received its submission; there was a little resistance in the south, but he was soon recognized as king. Ethelred, who had married Emma, the sister of the duke of Normandy, fled to that country. When Sweyn died after a few months, Ethelred returned, but he had learned nothing from experience. The evil conditions continued and the nobles seem to have been more intent upon private feuds than common defense. In 1016 Canute, the son of Sweyn, returned to England and was well on his way to the conquest of the whole land when Ethelred died. His son, Edmund Ironsides, fought bravely, although frequently hindered by treachery, until

Conquest by the Danes

[2] The activities of village life in the later centuries are better known to us and will be described in Chapter XXVII.

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Canute proposed terms of peace which he felt obliged to accept. He lived only a few months longer, dying in 1017, and then Canute became king of all England.

Canute, 1017–1035

His reign gave to the country a welcome respite from her sufferings. While the Danish sources tell of many a cruel deed and of his ruthlessness in destroying any obstacle in his path, the English chroniclers praise him and have very few unfavorable comments. This is due to the fact that Canute strove to give good government, following Anglo-Saxon precedents, humored his subjects, and appointed Englishmen to offices. At first many of the principal positions had been given to his Danish followers, but at his death every conspicuous post in England was filled by an Englishman. He had felt obliged to banish or put to death many of the leading nobles, but Canute "when he had struck down one member of a powerful family hastened to disarm the hostility of the clan by showing marked distinction to some other scion of the house." In order to strengthen his claim to the throne he had married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, who was apparently very willing to remain queen, without much regard as to who might be king. The cares of his empire (for Canute was king of Denmark, Norway, and other lands) and a long pilgrimage to Rome did not interfere with his attention to English affairs. He made few, if any, innovations, but endeavored to restore conditions as they were in the days of Edgar the Peaceful. He was especially friendly to the church and consequently won its hearty support. His sons, who succeeded him, had little of their father's ability and after their death, the nation, strengthened by the just rule of Canute, gladly saw the kingdom bestowed upon the son of Emma and Ethelred, Edward, later called the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor, 1042–1066

He had grown up in Normandy and had learned to prefer Normans and Norman ways. He was not a man of real strength of character, but was obstinate in his opinions. He brought many Normans to England and not only preferred them as associates, but also gave to them many important offices, including earldoms and bishoprics. This naturally caused discontent among the English, but they were so busy with their own rivalries that they did not unite against the foreign favorites. Earl Godwin, who had been Canute's most trusted official, was the chief English leader and increased his power by marrying his daughter Edith to Edward. For several years he and his sons sought to rule England; the other native leaders and Edward's foreign favorites were hostile to them, so that, in 1051, when Godwin refused to obey an unjust order given by Edward, the coalition of his enemies compelled him to go into exile. Then the Norman influence

became supreme at the English court; Duke William, who was Edward's first cousin, paid him a visit and was probably promised the succession to the throne, for the king was childless and treated Edith as a daughter, not as a wife. The promise may have become known among the English; for, in the following year, when Godwin and his sons attacked England, they had comparatively little difficulty and found the people mainly favorable to them, so that they recovered all their property and gradually added to their possessions until all but one of the earldoms were held by members of Godwin's family. After his death, his son Harold succeeded to his power and was recognized by Edward, on his death-bed, as the successor to the throne. On the following day he was elected king by the witan.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

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Duke William

WHEN William paid his visit to Edward the Confessor in 1051, he was a young man who had already achieved much, in spite of many obstacles. As his mother was a tanner's daughter, he had no family connections upon whom he could count when he became duke. This happened while he was a mere child, as his father had died while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1035. "The Bastard," as he was commonly called until he won a more glorious title, grew up amid turbulent vassals and frequent revolts. In 1047, as has been already related, he crushed rebellion by a brilliant victory and after that established peace and order in his duchy. He did much to reform the church in Normandy and selected able men for its higher officials; chief among these was Lanfranc of Pavia, who made the monastery of Bec a noted center of learning. He won victories over his suzerain, the French king, and the count of Anjou, so that he was able to annex Maine to his fiefs. Secure in his own territory, he counted upon succeeding Edward in England.

King Harold

Conditions had changed since the latter had promised William the succession. The family of Godwin had regained its power and Harold, its head, was the most influential man in England. Consequently when Edward died Harold was chosen king on the following day, and crowned in the new Westminster Abbey. But he was not the ruler of a united land. Mercia and Northumbria were held by the brothers, Edwin and Morkere, whose family had long been the chief rival to that of Godwin. Harold had hoped to win their friendship. When in 1065 his brother Tostig, earl of Northumbria, had been driven out by a revolt, he induced Edward to give the earldom to Morkere. But the two brothers, while accepting favors from Harold, felt no loyalty to him. When he was elected king, he could count upon no support from the lands which they ruled. In fact, Wessex was the only part of England which was ready to obey Harold; everywhere else there was jealousy of the new ruler who was not a descendant of the old royal family.

When William heard of Harold's election, he gave way to a furious outburst of anger; but his native shrewdness soon re-

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William's Claims

asserted itself and he began to plan how he might obtain the English crown. He based his contention upon Edward's promise and the claim that he was his heir through relationship. In addition he accused Harold of perjury. Some years before, Harold had been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy and had fallen into William's hands. Just what happened is uncertain, but Harold probably secured his release by an oath to help William obtain the English kingdom. At all events the latter accused him of perjury and sought the pope's aid for his claims. The pope was the more willing to assist the duke because Godwin and Harold had expelled a Norman archbishop of Canterbury, and installed Stigand, an Englishman, who had obtained the pallium from an anti-pope. Consequently the pope, already well disposed toward William because of the ecclesiastical reforms in Normandy, sent a consecrated banner as a symbol of his favor.

Gathering of the Host

"The duke rejoiced greatly at receiving the banner and the license which the pope gave him. He got together carpenters, smiths, and other workmen, so that great stir was seen at all the ports of Normandy, in the collecting of wood and materials, cutting of planks, framing of ships and boats, stretching sails, and rearing masts with great pains and at great cost. They spent all one summer and autumn in fitting up the fleet." As his vassals were not obliged to follow him on an oversea expedition, which would necessarily last longer than they were bound to serve him by their feudal obligations, he had to offer great inducements to secure men. "There was no knight in the land, no good sergeant, archer, nor peasant of stout heart and of age for battle, that the duke did not summon to go with him to England, promising rents to the vassals, and honors to the barons." "The fame of the Norman duke soon went forth through many lands,— how he meant to cross the sea against Harold, who had taken England from him. Then soldiers came flocking to him, one by one, two by two, four by four, by fives, by sixes, sevens and eights, nines and tens; and he retained them all, giving them much and promising more. Many came by agreement made by them beforehand; many bargained for lands, if they should win England; some required pay, allowances and gifts; and the duke was often obliged to give at once to those who could not wait the result." Hundreds of ships gathered, but they had to wait for a favorable wind, which was slow in rising.

Harold, warned of William's preparations, gathered such forces as he could from the part of England that was loyal to him and awaited the invasion. But the time dragged on and he could not hold his army together. It included the house-carls, who

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were a band of personal followers mainly Scandinavians, the thegns, who owed military service, and the fyrd or militia composed of farmers, who came when summoned, but grew restive as the attack was delayed and in September began to go home to gather their crops. Just then came the news that Harold's brother Tostig with the aid of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, had landed in Northumbria. Tostig wanted to reconquer his former lands; Harold Hardrada, as heir to Canute, set up a claim to the crown of England. Edwin and Morkere were defeated; York yielded; Harold hastened to the succor with his house-carls and thegns. By forced marches he reached Stamford Bridge, where he surprised the enemy, who were divided, part on one bank of the Derwent and part on the other. Both Tostig and Harold Hardrada were killed in the battle and the English won a complete victory.

Stamford Bridge

In the meantime the wind had shifted and William's fleet had been able to sail across the channel and land at Pevensey. When Harold learned this, he hurried back to meet him, but with very insufficient forces. Edwin and Morkere furnished no aid, and apparently felt no gratitude for their rescue. Harold had to depend almost entirely upon his personal following of house-carls and thegns, together with hasty levies from Wessex. He felt it necessary to act upon the defensive and established himself on the hill of Senlac, a few miles north of Hastings. There on October 14, 1066, was fought the decisive battle. The struggle raged for nine hours. The Normans, although much better armed and well supplied with cavalry and archers, were unable to break through the shield-wall of the English. The house-carls, wielding two-handed Danish axes, stood firm about Harold and the standard. Their position on a steep hill gave the English an advantage. But William was a skilful tactician and had a well-disciplined army. A feigned flight by the Normans led some of the English to break from their ranks in order to pursue the fleeing enemy. The duke sent a cavalry force to cut off the pursuers from the house-carls, who remained firm upon the hill; then it was easy for the Normans, turning from flight to attack, to overcome the light-armed English troops who had been pursuing them. But it was a very different matter to overcome the picked troops about Harold. They held out till evening, till Harold and his brothers had fallen, and sold their lives dearly. On the spot which they had defended so bravely, William later erected Battle Abbey, as a thank offering for his victory.

Battle of Hastings

The battle was won and Harold was dead, but the land was not conquered. The witan at London, with Edwin and Mor-

kere, elected Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside; but he was not crowned. William wanted the crown and proceeded to force his own election from the witan by showing the powerlessness of his opponents and his own strength. He marched, ravaging as he went, through Kent and Sussex, burned Southwark, thence proceeded westward, crossed the Thames and took his position to the north of London, so that it was not possible for the city to obtain aid from the unconquered territory on that side. The Londoners realized the hopelessness of resistance and the leading men with Edgar at their head went out to meet William and offer him submission. He was crowned on Christmas day, 1066, with all the usual formalities. A little later Edwin and Morkere made their submission. In the spring William felt obliged to go to Normandy to look after the administration of the duchy and did not return until the end of the year. During his absence there were rebellions caused by the tyranny of the regents, so that William on his return had to undertake the thorough subjugation of the land. This task was not completed until 1072, but by 1070 practically the whole of England had been conquered. The most serious opposition came from the North, where there were two successive uprisings, the second aided by a Danish fleet which carried off much booty. William determined to punish the inhabitants so thoroughly that no one would dare to attempt any rebellion in the future. He laid waste the whole Vale of York, burning everything. "So great a famine arose that, since necessity forced them, they ate the flesh of human beings, horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever usage shrinks from; so severe was it that some sold themselves into perpetual slavery, provided only they might in any way sustain their wretched lives. It was horrible to see the dead bodies decaying in the houses, in the open spaces, and on the streets. The mass decaying with horrible stench, swarmed with worms. Nor was any one left to bury the dead, for all were wiped out either by sword or famine, or had departed from their homes on account of hunger. In the meantime the land was destitute of cultivators, and a broad wilderness existed for nine years. Between York and Durham nowhere was there an inhabited village, while the dens of wild beasts and robbers caused terror to travelers." After this severity there was no more opposition, except for a revolt in the fens around Ely, where Hereward, who became the hero of ballads, gathered a desperate band and was joined by Morkere, once more in rebellion, although he had been repeatedly pardoned. William found it a more difficult task to capture Ely than to harry York, but Hereward was finally dislodged by

The Conquest of England

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treachery and fled to the Bruneswald, where he lived as an outlaw until William induced him by very favorable terms to yield. With him all resistance ended. The country had never been united against William; all the rebellions had been local and it had been comparatively easy to crush each in turn, as there was no national feeling.

By the election William claimed to be the national king, in succession to Edward the Confessor, whose laws and customs he professed to follow. He regarded Harold as a usurper and all who had aided him as rebels. Consequently all their lands were forfeited. As a matter of fact he was a conqueror, and this conditioned all of his policy; hence, while he claimed to observe the good old customs, many of the regulations were along new lines, dictated by the necessities of his position. He was obliged to fulfil his promises to those who had fought for him, but it was also essential not to goad the English to desperation by taking everything from them. As land was the great object of wealth and desire, and also practically the only means by which he could assure himself of a body of vassals, he parceled it out liberally to his followers, as he conquered each section of England. The conquest was only gradual, and consequently, although the grants to his most important vassals were very extensive, these were widely scattered and no noble obtained a large compact fief which might become a territorial power dangerous to the king. This result has often been attributed to a deliberate policy on William's part; it seems more probable that it was due to the piecemeal conquest and occupation. Some of the English were allowed to keep their lands, but these were comparatively few and their holdings were usually only a small portion of their former possessions. Some English heiresses were obliged to marry Normal vassals. Any suspicion of treason or any pretext which might make a legal case was used to deprive the English of their holdings; the most fortunate were able to keep their lands by paying a large fine, and becoming vassals. Military tenure became universal; the amount of service was not determined by the value of the land, but was fixed arbitrarily when the grant was made. In all, William could summon about five thousand knights to his army.

Policy of William

Local Administration

In the local administration William interfered very little, but his policy gradually brought about some changes. He restricted the power of the Norman earls, who were appointive, by making the sheriffs the important administrative officials, as the latter were wholly dependent upon the king's pleasure and could be dismissed at any time. The towns suffered severely at first and

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some were destroyed, but these were soon rebuilt and became more populous and prosperous. The conquest stimulated trade with Normandy, and many Norman merchants and Jews went to England and settled in the boroughs. William gave to London a charter of a brevity tantalizing to us, granting that all the burgesses should be "law-worthy, as they were in the days of King Edward," and apparently made no change in their status. The same was probably true of the less important towns, but the increase in commerce and the king's favor to Norman merchants and Jews were gradually raising them to a position of much greater relative importance.

William and the Church

The changes in the church were many and far-reaching. There was urgent need of reform, for the work of Dunstan and his friends had proved of slight lasting value; and, except among the monks, there was little to distinguish the clergy from the laymen in education, morals, or manners. William had accepted in Normandy some of the ideas of Cluny, in fact all that did not interfere with his own prerogatives; he had been assisted in his conquest by the pope's favor; he welcomed the opportunity to strengthen his hold upon England by substituting for the native bishops new incumbents who would owe their positions to him; consequently he entered zealously into plans for the reform of the church. Lanfranc, who was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, was the chief agent in ecclesiastical matters, and supported William's policy very cordially. The king strengthened the jurisdiction of the church by an edict ordering that bishops should not try ecclesiastical cases in the hundred courts, "nor bring to the judgment of secular men a cause which concerns the rule of souls." This resulted in the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, wholly under the control of the church, whereas before such cases had been tried in the regular hundred courts where laymen had an important voice in the decisions. The power and prestige of the bishops were also enhanced because their residences were moved from the villages in which they had been located and fixed in important towns, which were thereafter known as cities. The most important reform, which affected all classes of the secular clergy, was the insistence upon celibacy. This had been the canonical rule but had seldom been observed. Gregory VII urged its enforcement; William and Lanfrance complied in part, but avoided the difficulties which ensued elsewhere by arranging that priests and deacons should not be allowed to marry in the future, but that no one who was already wedded should be compelled to put away his wife. In other respects the king showed his independence

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of the pope. "I refused to do fealty, nor will I; because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors." A compromise, or rather a postponement of the issue, was arranged about the question of lay investiture, to which William clung. Gregory probably felt it useless to push troublesome questions, because the king was willing to yield in some matters and was sincerely interested in church reform.

Central Government

In spite of the changes which he necessarily made, William was conservative. "The great council," which he summoned to learn his will or to give advice, was very similar in its composition to the witanagemot of the Anglo-Saxon kings. It included the bishops, the most important abbots, and the chief landholders, and was called together usually at the three great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The meetings were more formal and the members had less influence than under Edward the Confessor. Its duties were mainly judicial. In addition, William had always at his court a smaller body, of lawyers and ecclesiastics, known as the *curia regis,* to assist in matters of administration. At first the duties were not at all differentiated and the *curia* had a great variety of tasks to perform; later, under other kings, committees from the *curia* were designated for special purposes. When William was obliged to leave the kingdom, he appointed a justiciar to act as regent and chose for this purpose an ecclesiastic.

Laws

In legal matters the king made few innovations. He declared: "I command that all men have and hold the laws of Edward with those additions which I have ordained for the advantage of the English people." Among these additions were wager of battle and curfew. The first had long been in use on the continent, but not in England; the second was a police regulation to prevent conflagrations and required that all fires should either be extinguished or covered over (*couvre-feu*) at nightfall. The hundred courts continued to try cases, but new manorial courts were established by the Norman landholders which took much of the business from them, so that, having their functions lessened by this and also by the withdrawal of ecclesiastical cases, they had little to do.

All the changes which have been mentioned were for the purpose of better administration, in which William was especially interested. The most important administrative matter, next to keeping good order, was the collection of an ample revenue, to which William attended zealously. He had kept for himself many manors, from which he obtained produce and income; he levied the usual feudal dues from his vassals; he had a portion

Finances and Domesday

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of all court fines; he levied the Danegeld three times and made it a heavy assessment. In order to find out just how much he could secure from his kingdom, he ordered a great survey to be made, the famous Domesday, in 1086. He sent commissioners into each shire to question sworn jurors, including the priest, the reeve, and six villeins from each township. The questions were the name of the manor, who held it under King Edward, who holds it now; how many hides does it contain; how many plows; how many villeins, cotters, slaves, freemen, socmen; how much of woodland, of meadow, of pasture; how many mills and fish-ponds; how much land has been added or taken away; what was the value in the time of King Edward; what is the value now; how much each freeman and socman holds. "So narrowly he let spear it out that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is a shame to tell, though he thought it no shame to do — was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in the accounts." This survey is our most important source of information for the conditions and for the changes which had taken place; it gives much information about the resources of the different parts of England and the industries which were carried on, about the social classes and local customs, and a host of other details. Unfortunately as it is preserved it is incomplete, omitting the northern shires and a number of towns, including London; and, as it was drawn up for William's information and not for ours, there are many subjects which are obscure at the present day, so that it raises almost as many questions as it answers. But there is no equally valuable mine of information for any other country in Europe.

This survey was very much disliked by his subjects, but the most unpopular thing that William did was the extension of the forest lands for hunting, and especially the making of the New Forest, for which he condemned much land near Winchester and destroyed such hamlets as were included in its limits. He allowed no one to hunt in any royal forest without a license and ordered the punishment of blinding for any one who killed a deer, for "he loved the tall deer as though he were their father." Popular tradition soon told how the New Forest was accursed.

The New Forest

Yet, after the conquest was completed, there was only one serious revolt, the rising of the earls in 1075, which was easily crushed. By means of castles held by his barons, William held in awe the people of each district; through the national fyrd which he could summon he had a check on his own vassals. In 1086 he took a new step "which was to have a great importance in the future" by summoning "all the landholders of substance

Means of Control

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in England, whose vassals soever they were," "and they all submitted to him, and became his men and swore oaths of allegiance that they would be faithful to him against all others." This Salisbury oath created a form of feudalism very different from the French, where the vassal owed service only to his immediate lord and was not at all bound to obey the king.

Results of the Conquest

Much has already been said about the results of the conquest, and the later history will make these results more clear; here it is necessary merely to summarize some of the more important effects in order to make it easier to understand the later events. Almost all of the leading offices in England, whether lay or ecclesiastical, were held by Normans, and almost all of the land was included in Norman fiefs; the merchants in the towns were either Normans or other foreigners, the mass of Englishmen were in villeinage; consequently there was a great division in rank and power between natives and foreigners. The upper class used the Norman French language, and although English, the language of the bulk of the population, gradually triumphed, it had become a very different language, with a large admixture of French words. In the same way, the civilization changed; while English customs remained as the substratum, French fashions came in, in architecture, in literature, in all that affected the life of the upper classes, whether lay or clerical. In short, England had been forced from its connection with the Scandinavian North, and had been brought into intimate connection with the continent of Europe, especially the French lands, with which for more than a century it was closely united.

Death of William

This was the work of William. He met his death in France, in 1087, as the result of a fall from his horse. On his deathbed he released from prison the last son of Godwin and several other Englishmen, as well as some Normans, who had long been incarcerated. He pardoned all his enemies and arranged for the succession to the duchy of Normandy and to the kingdom of England, and then died peacefully. It is eloquent of the customs of his age that no one of his family or friends was with him when he died, and that the servants plundered the death-room, even stripping the corpse.

His Character

What manner of man was he? Much can be judged from his acts, but possibly the best characterization was given by one of the English chroniclers who knew him well. "King William was a very wise and a great man, and more honored and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will." "Amongst other things, the good order that

William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosomful of gold, unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him." "So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will." "Truly there was much trouble in these times, and a very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king also was of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver, and this either with or without right and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain." "The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live, or would keep their lands, or would hold their possessions, or would be maintained in their rights." Possibly the good monk was somewhat prejudiced, but probably William himself would have been willing to have his character thus portrayed.

CHAPTER XIX

SARACEN CIVILIZATION

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Rise of the Abbasids

THE last Ommiad rulers at Damascus were not able to retrieve the failures at Poitiers and Constantinople.[1] Although they did wage successful war against the Byzantine Empire, and raids into Gaul did continue for some years, they were continually being weakened by disaffections and rebellions among their subjects. The descendants of Ali had many partizans who held up to execration the irreligious conduct and the luxury of the Ommiads, whose family had secured the caliphate through the slaughter of the most faithful followers of the prophet. Repeated attempts at rebellion were crushed and the Fatimites, who claimed to be descendants of Ali and Fatima,[2] were not able to overthrow the caliphate; but the Abbasids, descendants of the uncle of Mohammed, profited by the general disaffection and, after winning two battles against the last Ommiad, established Abu'l Abbas upon the throne.

He took the name of al Saffah (the Bloody), which he well deserved, for after the second victory over the Ommiad caliph, he hunted out relentlessly each male Ommiad and had him put to death. Of the whole family only one or possibly two escaped; one may have led an obscure existence and founded a petty dynasty in the southeast of Arabia; one, after many vicissitudes, became the ruler in Spain. There in 752 he established the emirate of Cordova. By his success Spain was wrested from the power of the Abbasid caliphs; this was the first real break in the unity of Islam. The Ommiads had ruled over all the followers of the Prophet; their successors the Abbasids did not; the power of Islam was gradually sapped by the revolt and withdrawal of one portion of the caliphate after another. But no other loss was so important for the history of Europe as the revolution in Spain which isolated the Mussulmans there and made them a less dangerous foe to the Christian tribesmen, who were able gradually to recover the whole of the peninsula; but this reconquest was not completed for over seven hundred years, and consequently will be described elsewhere.

Ommiad Emirate in Spain

[1] See Chapter IX at end.
[2] Daughter of Mohammed.

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The Ommiads still had many partizans at Damascus, so that it seemed prudent for the Abbasids to move their capital to the east, where their Persian followers would be nearer; their victory was a Persian victory and the Arabs were no longer the dominant people. After a short residence elsewhere, the site of Bagdad was decided upon as the future capital, and there between 762 and 766 A. D. was built a round city with a double wall. One hundred thousand workmen were employed to expedite the work. This was an excellent situation, as it was in the middle of a fertile country and protected by its situation between the two rivers. Bagdad soon increased in size and population, and became renowned as second only to Constantinople in splendor.

Bagdad

This was especially true in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid, 786–809, the hero of *A Thousand and One Nights*. Even before he became caliph he had led a victorious army to Scutari and had extorted tribute from the Byzantine Empire. Whenever the annual payment was withheld, he made a new expedition into Greek lands and forced the emperor to terms. Haroun was extremely active and a great traveler, making the pilgrimage to Mecca nine times, and visiting distant portions of his caliphate. Among his subjects he was renowned as the just (al Rashid), in spite of the well-known slaughter of the Barmecides; for the justice which he administered to the poor was proverbial, and the latter delighted to tell how the great caliph wandered about in disguise at night in order to see how his subjects in the capital lived and were treated. The *Thousand and One Nights* has made him one of the best known characters in history, and, allowing for the natural exaggeration, presents a remarkable picture of the civilization at Bagdad and the habits and pursuits of its inhabitants.

Haroun-al-Rashid

A noteworthy change had taken place. The early history of Islam, after the death of the Prophet, is little more than a chronicle of warfare and conquest. At Bagdad under Haroun, as is clearly evident from the tales in the *Arabian Nights*, there was little zest for fighting and the people were engaged in commerce, travel, and other peaceful pursuits. They were addicted to pleasure, and religion exercised very little restraint upon their conduct. They had come under the influence of the older civilizations in the lands which they had conquered, especially in Persia, and had become willing pupils of the Greek traditions in philosophy and science. The most marked trait in their culture, however, is its composite character. They borrowed or adapted from all the peoples with whom they had come into contact. It has been well said that they overran the domains of

Change in Ideals

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Commerce

to another is indicative of the freedom of intercourse between all parts of the Moslem world. This was especially important in facilitating commerce, which was not burdened by tolls, restrictions, and different monetary systems, as in Europe. Moreover, the merchant's calling held a higher place in the public estimation than in feudal lands. Mohammed had been a merchant and naturally no one could lose caste by following his example. Bagdad was exceptionally well-placed for commerce, as it was the center of many trade routes. Not far distant was Bassora (Basra) and to its harbor came the vessels which traded with the ports of Arabia, the Red Sea, India and China; even Chinese junks came thither, although most of the traffic was in the hands of the Moslems. Besides these water routes goods were carried overland by caravans which traversed Asia, visited the Black Sea and Mediterranean ports, skirted along the north coast of Africa and even penetrated far into its interior. At a much later date, when the Mohammedan commerce was no longer so unrestricted, Richard the Lion-Hearted captured a caravan, and a partial list of the wares which it carried is given by a western chronicler. These included spices, gold and silver, silken mantles, purple and scarlet robes, arms and weapons, coats of mail, costly cushions, pavilions, tents, biscuits, pastry, conserves, medicines, basins, chess-boards, silver dishes and candelabra, sugar, and many other articles. The caravan is said to have been composed of 4700 camels, besides countless mules and asses. In the days of the early Abbasids each city had its bazaar, or merchants' quarter, and in the great centers were to be found porcelain, silks, lacquer and tea from China; spices, drugs, pearls and precious stones from India and the islands in the Indian Ocean; black slaves, ivory and gold-dust from Africa; white slaves, honey, wax and furs from the distant Scandinavian countries. The extent of the commerce with Europe is attested not only by the products found in the Moslem countries, but also by the hoards of Arabic coins which have been dug up in Russia, Sweden, Germany, and other parts of Europe. A single find at Mainz included over 15,000 coins. One of the best known tales in the *Thousand and One Nights* recounts the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor. It has long been recognized that the account of his wanderings is based upon actual reports of voyages made by Moslem merchants, and many of the places which he was said to have visited have been identified and his descriptions have been shown to be, in some instances, remarkably accurate.[4] His method of carrying on trade and the wares in which he dealt

[4] See Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, Vol. I, pp. 438–450.

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were characteristic of the commerce in the days of Haroun-al-Rashid.

The Moslems acted as carriers and many of the wares in which they traded were produced by others. But there were also many articles manufactured in Mohammedan countries, and the number increased steadily, to satisfy the demands of trade. At first, most of the work was done by Jews or Christians, but gradually the people in some districts would devote themselves in large part to making some one specialty. Iron was mined in both Arabia and Persia and some localities soon obtained a well-deserved reputation for producing many varieties of iron and steel goods, especially weapons and armor. In the early period Damascus and Toledo had not as yet become famous for their swords; but both straight and curved ones were made in other parts of the Moslem world and had won a great reputation. Excellent crossbows were being made and the breast-plates were considered the best in the world. Also steel mirrors, for then steel and not glass was used for this purpose, were exported far and wide. In other branches of iron work, as well as in goods made from other metals found in Arabia, there were many products. The goldsmiths were famous and found ample employment in catering to the prevailing love of luxury and adornment. For the same reason the makers of fine clothes and other products of the loom amassed wealth. Many rich and handsome stuffs were made. The caliph employed a large number of workmen to make robes of honor, of which he always kept a store for gifts to ambassadors or to subjects whom he wished to reward. These were frequently marvels of fine workmanship and cost almost incredible sums of money. Rugs were made in great numbers and were used for wall-decorations and to shut out drafts, as well as for carpets. In summer straw mats were in demand instead of rugs, and these often were adorned with complicated figures and most extravagant workmanship. Naturally, tents were in common use and these afforded an opportunity for lavish display. They were frequently of immense size and great height. Syria was noted for its manufacture of glass, especially glassware ornamented with gold, and many costly pieces were made. Some caliphs made extensive collections of fine specimens. Another article which was exported widely was paper, made from papyrus or cotton. Workmen were brought to Asia from Egypt, where this manufacture had been carried on for centuries. The Moslems soon excelled in the production of paper as well as in making inks and in the binding of books. They refined sugar, which they exported as far as China and in which they preserved fruits

Manufacturing

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with such skill that these also became far-famed articles of export. Finally we may mention the perfumes, of which there was a very large variety. These were in great demand, both in the Moslem world and outside.

Science

Many of these manufactures, e. g. glass-making, would have been impossible without some scientific knowledge. In this the Arabs had been the pupils of the Greeks, but had also learned much from others, and in turn themselves contributed to its advance. Some of them held that "the ink of science is of more value than the blood of the martyr." It is not possible here to go through the whole range of the sciences which they studied and in which they were the leaders during the Middle Ages; only a few examples can be given. Medicine in the days of Haroun was practised almost exclusively by non-Moslems, especially Christians of Oriental origin and Jews; but later many others, including Indians and Persians and finally Arabs, became noted in this field. The doctors were then paid exclusively according to results and received no fees except when the patients were cured. They specialized and the oculists seem to have been peculiarly successful. But a good practitioner in any line might secure an ample income, and even an almost fabulous one if he was the caliph's physician. Galen and Hippocrates were the great authorities, but the doctors were not content to be mere imitators and some added to the store of medical lore; e. g., Rhazed, in the second half of the ninth century, won fame by his treatise on smallpox.

Chemistry

In the development of chemistry they seem to have been more independent; and, if they did not lay the foundations of the science, they did very much to improve it. "They first invented and named the alembic for the purpose of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines." But much of their study deserves the name of alchemy rather than chemistry, as they were chiefly interested in the search for the philosopher's stone, which would transmute base metals into gold, and in the discovery of the elixir of life, which would make a man eternally youthful.

Mathematics and Astronomy

In mathematics, in which they followed Ptolemy, they won a deserved fame which is attested by our use of the term "Arabic figures." It is still uncertain to what extent this popular usage is justified, but it is certain that the figures themselves are older than the Moslem civilization. The case is clearer for algebra, for which we have borrowed the name from the Arabic.

The *Treatise on Algebra* composed by Mohammed ibn Mousa, under the reign of Haroun's grandson, in 820 A.D., later came into use in the Christian world and was not superseded until the sixteenth century. Arab scholars in the ninth and tenth centuries did much to develop the study of spherical trigonometry. They founded observatories and attempted, in the first half of the ninth century, to measure the size of the earth. But in astronomy they sought especially astrological knowledge and their actual achievements in many phases of this science were, for the most part, by-products of their more engrossing pursuit of astrology as a guide for present action and as a key to the future.

It was possible for the scholars to carry on these scientific pursuits because of the esteem in which education was held. Some early proverbs illustrate the Arab feeling: "He dies not who gives life to learning"; "The world is sustained by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the good, and the valor of the brave."

Education and Literature

Mohammed had told his followers, "Seek knowledge even in China." Several of the Abbasid and other caliphs were renowned for their patronage of learning. Institutions which may be roughly differentiated as schools, colleges and universities were established by their liberality. Benjamin of Tudela found twenty schools in Alexandria. In these institutions the boys studied grammar, rhetoric, history, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences, and as a crowning feature theology, with which law was closely associated. The Moslems had very early imbibed a great zeal for the study of theology, partly from the Christian controversialists who were so numerous in Syria. The political divisions encouraged, and were in part based upon, divergences in theological beliefs. The Koran was the text for their grammatical studies. The history which aroused their interest was mainly religious history. Their system of law was based upon the Koran and depended upon its interpretation. Everything united to give theology the place of honor in their educational system, although many students and literary men were more or less irreverent and devoted themselves to other branches. The universities were founded in connection with mosques and were equipped with libraries. In fact, there were a great many extensive libraries formed in various parts of the Moslem world. Arab Spain is said to have had seventy public libraries. Most of the figures as to their size come from later times and are open to suspicion. As examples we may cite one at Tripoli which contained 100,000 volumes and another in Spain which possessed 400,000. The earlier libraries consisted largely of translations of

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the Greek works from which the Arabs derived so much of their knowledge; later on, they themselves became copious authors. Private individuals sometimes had extensive collections of books; one claimed that it would take four hundred camels to carry his library. The volumes, however, contained then much less than an average volume does to-day and many were probably like the books of Cæsar in their length. It should also be remembered that scholars and particularly poets were held in high esteem and their works were eagerly cherished. The caliphs and their chief officials would reward a neatly turned verse or a witty answer by magnificent gifts, frequently of gold, but probably more usually of robes of honor. One poet is said to have received so many gifts of the latter kind that when his property was inventoried after his death it contained "a hundred complete suits of dress, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans."

Travelers

This poet must have traveled from center to center to have accumulated such a store. But there was nothing unusual in this, for there was much traveling in the Moslem world. The officials and agents of the caliphs had to make long journeys because of the extent of the caliphate. For their convenience much was done which aided other travelers. Then, too, embassies were sent to distant lands; presents were sent to the ruler of China in the East and to Charlemagne in the West. The merchants, as has already been stated, traveled far and wide. Many scholars went from one country to another to pursue their studies; for they believed that "Allah makes easy the way to paradise for him who travels to learn." Explorers were sent out by the caliphs in the ninth century to ascertain the truth of stories which they had heard, or to report on the characteristics of distant lands. Doctors were accustomed to collect, if possible, their own drugs and medicines and, consequently, had to go where these were to be found.

Geography

Works on geography were composed by travelers and others. One writer lived at Bassora and collected all the facts and anecdotes that he could learn from the merchants who frequented that port. As a rule the geographers followed the Greek traditions as to the size and form of the earth and its divisions, but they made corrections and additions. In particular, they made maps which may be described as excellent for their time, and especially so when their productions are contrasted with the ignorance and crudity shown in the maps made by the Christians. But their works were confined almost wholly to Moslem lands and they lacked in concision and order. They described not merely the geography but everything else of interest which they had learned.

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Their books have been happily described as a mixture of "a book of cities, or a gazetteer, and a book of marvels, or a collection of natural history, folk-lore, and fairy stories." There were many such works composed, from the ninth century onward; naturally the later ones were usually better than the earlier. One of the best was the work of al Mukadassi of Jerusalem, who was born in 946 A.D. For more than a score of years he journeyed through all the lands of the Moslems. Then he attempted to give a systematic account of all the countries which he had visited and of the manners and peculiarities of all the various nations. He had read widely, but his work was original to a great extent and was based chiefly upon his own observations. Such travelers were sure of a welcome everywhere and together with the other scholars and the merchants did much to unify the Moslem world.

Division and Decline

There was need of such a unifying influence, for political unity disappeared; the process of its decay is plainly visible in the reigns of the grandson and great-grandson of Haroun, at a time when rapid progress was being made in many branches of science and other learning. As we look back it is very easy to see many reasons for the decline, and in some respects its causes were very similar to those of the decline of the old Roman Empire, or to those which brought about the fall of the Merovingians and the Carolingians. But there were also causes which were peculiar to the Moslem world. The caliph possessed absolute power and his executive functions embraced all religious, political and legal activities. To exercise such powers wisely over an empire of such enormous extent, including peoples of so many different nationalities, a very strong man was needed. Such men are very rare in any age and any society, but were particularly lacking under the conditions of luxurious and voluptuous living which prevailed in Bagdad. Life in the harem sapped the vigor and blunted the powers of the Mohammedan rulers. Then, too, there was no fixed rule of succession and palace intrigues were constant. The prize was so great that it tempted many. Caliphs attempted to ward off this danger by having a favorite son recognized as successor during their own lifetime, but frequently their wishes were thwarted. They could not depend upon the loyalty of the governors of provinces, particularly because the latter had been given too much power. In order to save trouble and expense they had been made practically absolute in their provinces, being allowed to collect the taxes, out of which they had to pay the soldiers and provide for the other administrative expenses; the only requirement was that they should send the caliph each year a fixed sum. Consequently rulers in

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distant provinces revolted and no longer sent the annual payment. In many cases it was impossible to reduce such rebels to submission. As has been stated, Spain had become independent under an Ommiad. Africa revolted. Nearer home, even in Persia itself, some parts passed from the caliph's control. Religious enthusiasm had been the only bond which held the people together, and this was no longer potent. Religious dissensions played a large rôle in the decay; for there were many sects and often the leader of a sect was able to get a local following and to pose as a champion of one or another of the peoples gathered together into this unwieldy empire. Even in his own capital the caliph did not feel safe, and in place of the Arabs, who had been the real military backbone of the caliphate, formed a body-guard of Turks. Its commander, like a pretorian prefect or a mayor of the palace, soon became the all-powerful master of his nominal chief. The caliph at Bagdad came to be little more than the head of the religion, and even in this his position was not undisputed. For in 929 A.D. the ruler of Mohammedan Spain took the title of caliph. In the same century the Fatimite leader in Africa conquered the head of another sect who had already assumed the title, and in turn became caliph. Later he conquered Egypt and transferred his capital to Cairo, so that in the tenth century there were three caliphs, residing, respectively, at Bagdad, Cordova, and Cairo.

The Fallen Caliph

Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who had traveled widely in the last half of the twelfth century, was at Bagdad and has left a description of the position the caliph then held. "All Mohammedan kings acknowledge him, and he holds the same dignity over them which the pope enjoys over the Christians. He understands all languages, is well versed in the Mosaic law, and reads and writes the Hebrew tongue. He enjoys nothing but what he earns by the labor of his own hands, and therefore manufactures coverlets, which he stamps with his seal, and which his officers sell in the public market; these articles are purchased by the nobles of the land, and from their produce his necessities are provided. The caliph is an excellent man, trustworthy and kind-hearted towards every one, but generally invisible to the Mohammedans. . . . The caliph leaves his palace but once every year, namely at the time of the feast called Ramadan; on this occasion many visitors assemble from distant parts, in order to have an opportunity of beholding his countenance. He then bestrides the royal mule, dressed in kingly robes, which are composed of gold and silver cloth. On his head he wears a turban, ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value. . . . He is saluted loudly by the as-

sembled crowd, who cry: 'Blessed art thou, our lord and king.' . . . The procession moves on into the court of the mosque, where the caliph mounts a wooden pulpit and expounds the law. . . . The caliph never leaves his palace again for a whole year."

While the caliph had lost his power the religion of Islam had gained in strength. Although various sects had made converts, especially among the learned, the great mass of people at Bagdad had never been affected by religious speculations, which they were too ignorant to understand. The scholar might assert that "doubt is the foundation of all human knowledge," and caliphs might assert that "the Koran was created"; the great mass remained orthodox. By the middle of the ninth century the caliph, in order to win support against his internal foes, decreed as the state dogma that the Koran was divinely inspired and must be followed absolutely. Orthodoxy became more firmly fixed; a belief in rigid predestination prevailed; and "the dead letter of the Koran sapped all progress among the faithful." This point of view gradually prevailed throughout the Moslem world; but Cordova was the last caliphate to be affected, and in Spain progress and freedom of thought continued longer than elsewhere. Intolerance did not gain a strong foothold; learned scholars flourished; artists still dared to violate the precepts of the Koran. The court of the lions in the Alhambra is the most striking illustration, for to a strict believer "images and pictures representing living creatures are contrary to law." In this respect as in many others some Moslems in Spain refused to be bound by the letter of the Koran and study was not confined so exclusively to theology as elsewhere.

Orthodoxy

The Moslem civilization is of importance to us chiefly for its influence upon our ancestors. The first striking example of this influence was in the days of Charles the Great, to whom Haroun-al-Rashid sent as presents: an elephant, a magnificent tent, costly silken garments — probably these were robes of honor — perfumes, balsam, two great brass candelabra, and a brass water-clock, constructed with much mechanical ingenuity. This is said to have been the first water-clock in the west of Europe. These gifts are recorded by a contemporary western chronicler and excited his admiration. Some probably served as models for western workmen. The Christians in Spain learned much from their Moslem neighbors and, in turn, passed on some of this knowledge. It is significant that Gerbert was sent to Spain to study mathematics. In southern Italy and Sicily the Normans came into contact with both Moslem and Byzantine civilizations and profited greatly. But it was especially during the crusades that the Chris-

Influence on Christians

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tians learned to know the Moslem achievements and derived the greatest amount of knowledge from them; this will be treated later. For the plants which were introduced by the Arabs Europe is especially indebted and many of these have been transplanted to America. Knowledge was also gained, as has already been indicated for some fields. Medicine was long under the sway of the Arab authors. Avicenna, who lived from 980 to 1037, had more than a hundred treatises ascribed to him and from the twelfth to the seventeenth century was the chief guide for all medical studies in the universities of Europe.

Words from Arabic

One of the surest proofs of the extent of the influence of the Moslem civilization is furnished by the words which the European languages have borrowed from the Arabic. Sometimes a product and name came together; sometimes the new knowledge was designated by the Arabic term. If we omit all words borrowed from the Arabic which were of Greek origin, as e. g. alchemy, alembic, carat, elixir, talisman; or of Persian origin, as e. g. azure, calabash, candy; the English language has taken from the Arabic: alcohol, alcove, algebra, alkali, artichoke, azimuth, benzine, caraway, cipher, civet, coffee, cotton, jasper, lute, mate (in chess), mattress, mohair, myrrh, nitre, ogive, racket (i. e. bat), saffron, senna, sherbet, sofa, sumach, syrup, zenith, zero, and many more.[5]

[5] See Skeat, Principles of English Etymology, Second Series (Oxford, 1891), from whom all of these examples have been taken.

CHAPTER XX

BYZANTINE EMPIRE TO 1095

Character of Byzantine History

GIBBON described Byzantine history as "a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery." The great authority of his name, and similar opinions expressed by Voltaire, Montesquieu and Taine, caused this judgment to be generally adopted until the middle of the last century. "Byzantine" even yet is too frequently used as a term of opprobrium. The scholars now recognize the great services which the Byzantine Empire performed and the debt which we owe to it. They realize that for eight centuries law, literature, art, industry, and commerce were carried on at Constantinople; and that this city not merely preserved the remnants of the classical civilization, but also made it possible, by her victories, for the West to develop until it was in a position to absorb this older culture. They have learned that the most important feature of the Byzantine Empire is "its constant vitality and power of revival," "its marvelous recuperative energy," until the period of decline in the eleventh century.

Position of Constantinople

In a consideration of the sources of its strength, the position of its capital must be placed first. Byzantium had had a memorable history, extending over almost a thousand years, before Constantine chose it for his residence. Its position made it practically impregnable. On the north, east, and south it is surrounded by water; and the approach on either north or south is by a long, narrow channel that can be easily defended. On the west, the land side, a wall was built across the peninsula, about four miles in length; later, a second wall was built farther to the west. Its position also made Constantinople admirably adapted to be the capital of the Roman Empire. It was in Europe, but close to Asia, and not far from Egypt. By the Black Sea, which is five times the size of Lake Superior and has more than 2000 miles of coast, it could draw upon the resources of all the tributary basin to the north, as well as upon the riches of Asia Minor. It has a magnificent land-locked harbor, with deep water so that large vessels can unload at the wharves.

Commerce

This harbor was the center of an active commerce. For several centuries Constantinople was the greatest trading port in the Christian world and also maintained relations with the Saracens.

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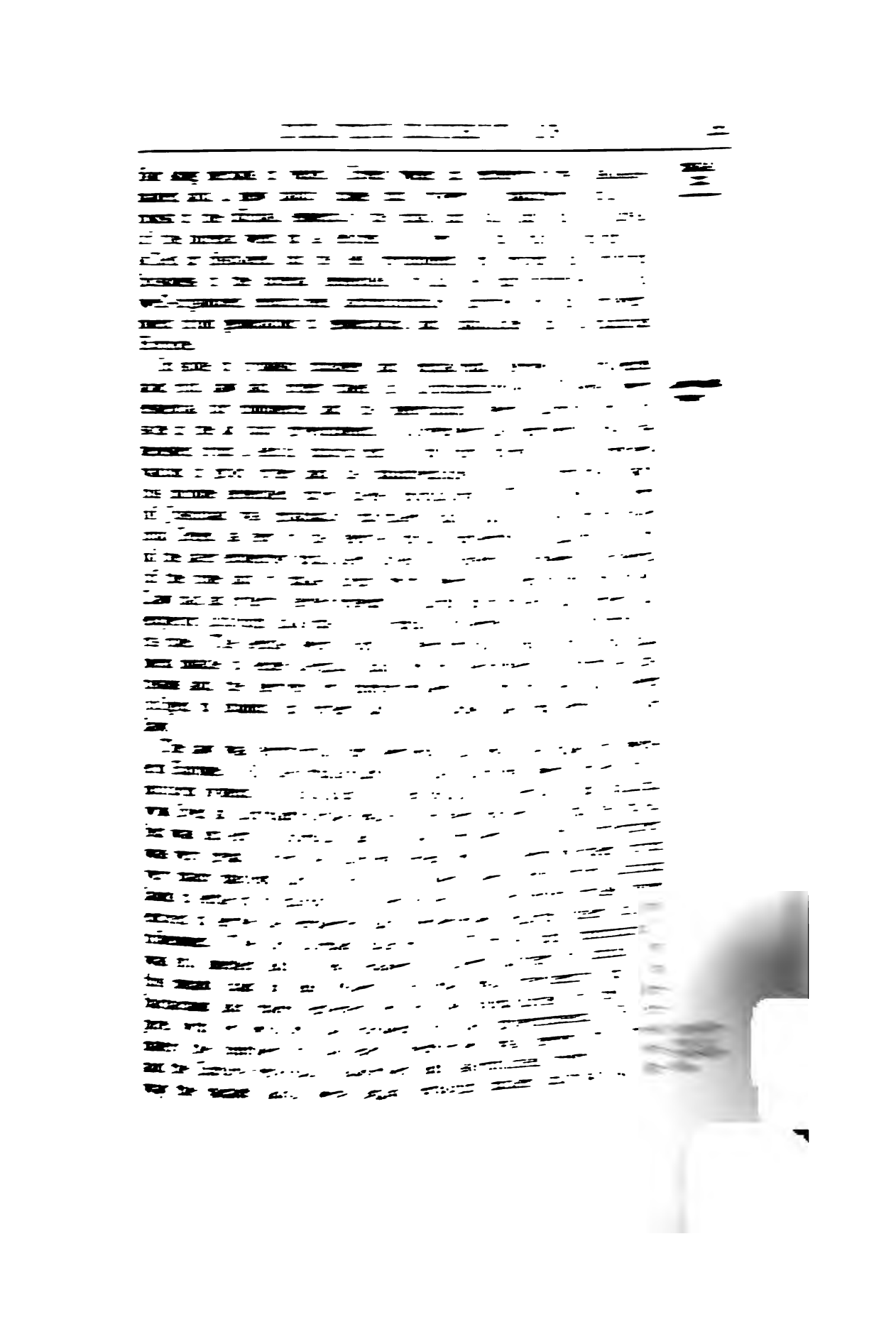
The furs, honey and wax, brought from the North by Russian merchants, were exchanged for the spices, drugs, and precious stones from the Orient, which were brought by Byzantine vessels from Alexandria. Merchants from many lands resorted to Constantinople, but most of the traffic on the sea was carried in Byzantine vessels until the eleventh century. This commerce was burdened with heavy tolls which furnished a large revenue to the government. But the profits were so great that the merchants became rich and the city prospered, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. Later, when Constantinople had lost its monopoly of sea trade, the wealth of its merchants excited the wonder even of Benjamin of Tudela, who had seen Bagdad. He tells of the great stir and bustle which prevailed at Constantinople in consequence of the gathering of many merchants from Babylon, Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Russia, Hungary, Lombardy, Spain, and other countries. He said the Greeks were extremely wealthy; "they dress in garments of silk, ornamented with gold and other costly materials; they ride upon horses, and in their appearance they are like princes." This wealth was another source of strength to the Byzantine Empire.

Army and Navy

It was also a constant temptation to other powers and the emperors needed a strong army and a large navy to defend their possessions. After the great defeat at Hadrianople the Roman army had been strengthened and in particular the cavalry was made the most important arm of the service. But troops of all kinds were enrolled from different peoples, both within and without the Empire, each with its distinctive weapons. Gradually a strong military force was provided whose main strength came from the peoples of Asia Minor, under their own leaders, and consequently the danger from the excessive employment of Germans as soldiers was avoided. Weapons were improved, Greek fire came into use, the science of strategy was carefully studied. Emperors wrote text-books on tactics and the conduct of war. The Byzantine armies were the best equipped in the world and were usually under efficient officers. The navy too was well organized and did good service.

Centralized Government

In other medieval empires and kingdoms the army was usually the real power and on it the rulers had to depend in order to maintain their position. At Constantinople there was a centralized government of civil officials which controlled the state. They had inherited from the old Roman Empire its organizing capacity and the various governmental functions were divided among different bureaus, each with a large staff of well-trained clerks. Men from many nations found a career in these offices and served



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cline in population was checked, and the emperor's treasury and army were kept filled.

Unity of Empire

The absorption and assimilation were the more easy because the Empire was cosmopolitan. Although the Greek people probably formed not more than a bare majority of the population, Greek was the universal language. Justinian was the last emperor who spoke Latin as his mother tongue. A half century after his death Latin was understood by only a small number of the people and had been superseded by Greek. Besides language, religion was a bond of union for all the people, and the Byzantine Empire was peculiarly bound up with the church, which used Greek in its liturgy. Moreover, the tradition of the old Roman Empire, the *one* Empire, still haunted the thoughts of men and they still called themselves Romans, and thought of the emperor as the head of the Roman Christian world. "The Byzantine Empire was not the political expression of a nation; it was an artificial creation, governing twenty different nationalities, and uniting them all by this formula; one ruler, one faith. Its pride was a purely fictitious belief, the heritage of Rome; but it had a real bond of strength: religious unity."

It was fortunate that there were so many sources of strength, for the Empire was beset by foes and many of its provinces were lost. First the Germans, as we have seen, overran most of the West, and founded kingdoms: the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in Britain; the Franks in Gaul; the Visigoths in Spain; the Vandals in Africa; the Ostrogoths in Italy; to mention only the most prominent. Then came the first example of the "marvelous recuperative energy" peculiar to the Byzantine Empire. The generals of Justinian reconquered Africa, Italy, and part of Spain. Under his successors the Spanish possessions were lost and most of Italy fell into the hands of the Lombards. It is interesting to recall, as Oman does, that the whole peninsula of Italy never again was governed by one ruler until 1870. "Justinian had no successor till Victor Emmanuel."

External Foes: Germans

Justinian was prevented from carrying out his plan to reconquer all the West from the Germans by danger on the other frontiers and especially by war with the rulers of Persia. Persia and Rome were inveterate enemies, as there was no sharply defined boundary between the two empires and each coveted the rich lands held by the other. Soon after Justinian's accession, Kobad, the Persian king, had again declared war. Belisarius was so successful that, on Kobad's death, three years later, Chosroes, his successor, was glad to make peace, and to wait until he himself was firmly seated on the throne and a more favorable oppor-

Persians

tunity presented itself. Justinian's war against the Ostrogoths offered this opportunity, and in 540 A.D. Chosroes invaded northern Syria, and sacked Antioch, carrying its citizens into captivity. Belisarius was recalled from Italy and for several years each foe ravaged the other's territory. A truce, and later peace, was agreed upon, on condition that the Byzantines should pay a nominal tribute. Justin II, who succeeded Justinian, refused to pay, and war broke out again in 572. For about twenty years it dragged on indecisively, weakening both empires. The rise of a usurper in Persia led the emperor Maurice to aid the rightful heir, another Chosroes, to regain his throne. In gratitude Chosroes made peace as soon as he had crushed the usurper. When Maurice was deposed by Phocas, in 602, Chosroes declared war upon the latter, taking as his pretext the murder of his friend and benefactor. For almost twenty years the Persians were successful, conquering Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. In 614 they captured Jerusalem, slew the Christians in the city, and carried off the "true cross." This was the most dangerous crisis the Byzantine Empire had experienced; but again its "vitality and power of revival" were in evidence. Heraclius had deposed Phocas and now determined to lead the army in person, a thing which no emperor since Theodosius had done. All the churches in the capital sent their ornaments and every kind of treasure to be minted into money for the service of the state. The dole of grain, which Constantine had established for the populace, was suspended and the people, without murmuring, flocked to enlist. Finally in 622 Heraclius could take the field against the enemy and in six successive campaigns humbled Persia. Chosroes' son revolted, and putting his father to death sought peace. Heraclius consented, and the conditions were that the Persians should withdraw from all their conquests, should return all captives, should pay an indemnity, and should give back the "true cross." Heraclius had restored the empire.

His delay in attacking the Persians had been due to trouble with the Avars on the north. They were nomads who had been driven out of Asia by the Turks and had settled in southern Russia. They, as well as the other barbarians on the northern border of the Empire, received presents from Justinian, who used each tribe as a menace or check to some other, constantly stirring up strife among them. "So long as the barbarians destroyed each other," wrote a contemporary, "the emperor was always victor without drawing his sword, no matter what was the end of the struggle." But this was a dangerous policy; there was always a chance that the barbarians might attempt to kill the

Avars

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goose that laid the golden egg. In fact, the Avars did make a raid into the Empire just before Justinian died. Justin refused to continue the payment to them and thus provoked war, which continued with short intermissions. Heraclius, after a show of force, had to buy them off, before he was free to attack Persia. In 626 the Avars and Persians joined in a siege of Constantinople, but this failed. While the Avars long remained dangerous to the Empire, they were never again so great a menace.

Slavs

Closely associated with the Avars, in the minds of the Byzantines, were the Slavs. These peoples were unwarlike and were repeatedly held in subjection by one conqueror after another. Many were seized and sold as slaves; many had to support nomads who made their winter quarters among them, eating their grain and violating their women. They were originally a light-haired blond people and the dark skin and hair of many Slavs is attributed to this constant intermixture of nomad blood. Their sad plight led them to dwell amid swamps, in the depths of the forests, in inaccessible places; when suddenly attacked, we are told that they dove under water and, lying upon their backs on the bottom, breathed through long reeds which projected as if growing naturally. They are said to have fought desperately when forced to defend themselves, but never to have taken the offensive except when under the command of a foreigner. This was frequently their lot. But fleeing from the Avars who held them in serfdom, or seeking better homes, Slavs were constantly filtering into the Empire. Sometimes they fought for the Avars, under compulsion, being placed in the front rank to bear the brunt of the attack. Consequently the Byzantine chroniclers did not always distinguish clearly between the two. But while the Avars made raids the Slavs settled, gradually replacing the older population, which had been reduced by war, pestilence, and famine, until they formed the vast majority in some sections of the Empire. Under Samo, a Frank, a strong Slavic kingdom was founded, and at this time and later when under alien leadership they were a redoubtable foe.

Arabs

While the Avars and Slavs were menacing the Empire the Arabs suddenly fell upon it and wrested from it the largest part of its lands. The end of the reign of Heraclius saw the Empire reduced to almost as great straits as it had experienced at the time when he became emperor. The long Persian wars had exhausted both antagonists so that the Moslems had little difficulty in their early conquests. Their internal dissensions gave Constantinople a breathing spell. But afterwards, twice in a half century, it had to withstand a siege, for six months in 673, and

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still longer in 717–718. The second failure was the most important check that the Mohammedans had ever experienced and effectually prevented their great plans of conquest. Constantinople was "the bulwark of Europe." But it had to pay dearly for its frontier position and saw its provinces and islands fall under the dominion of the enemy.

Other Foes

If this were a history of the Byzantine Empire, it would be necessary to give a long list of the external foes and to tell of dangers from Bulgarians, Russians, and many others. Repeatedly the Empire was threatened, often it was reduced to dire straits; always until the thirteenth century it maintained itself, giving proof of its vitality. There were glorious epochs; in the tenth century, when Crete and other lands were reconquered from the Saracens; in the early eleventh, when Basil earned his grim title of "slayer of the Bulgarians." The Empire seems to have been at its best when confronted with the greatest dangers.

Internal Weakness: No Rule of Succession

At other times, and frequently even when endangered by external foes, Constantinople was weakened by internal dissensions and the bad policies of the government. One fact, upon which historians of the Byzantine Empire have always dwelt, was that there was no fixed rule of succession. They have described the assassinations, mutilations and depositions of the emperors. They have emphasized the conditions which permitted a barbarous leader, a drunken groom, or a favorite of the empress to seize the imperial office. They have compiled figures to show how many emperors met what might be called elsewhere an unnatural end. Undoubtedly there is some truth in these strictures and the lack of a definite system of heredity or selection did at times weaken the Empire and precipitate civil war. But it must also be noted that such revolutions usually occurred when the ruler was weak or vicious and that the successor was frequently a man of real ability and proved to be the savior of the state. The fact that the imperial office was a possible goal for any strong man, regardless of race or condition, gave to the Empire many of its ablest rulers.

The Church

The position of the church in the Empire was at once a source of strength and a source of weakness to the state. It was the former because it was a bond of unity and also because the emperor was unquestionably the head of the church. The patriarch was but a minister and a servant of the emperor; there was no investiture struggle nor any similar contest. The emperor, even when a rebel upstart who had secured the throne by murder, was an object of sacred reverence to the populace, until he in turn was dethroned. But this servile position was detrimental to

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the Orthodox Church, which never took the place held in the west of Europe by the Roman Catholic Church. It had no great regenerating influence on the people; it was not the leader in education; it could not exercise any real control over a guilty ruler; it lacked virility and the power of growth. The Eastern monks played no such rôle as their Western brothers. While it is impossible to write the history of the Middle Ages in the West without giving the church the center of the stage, in Byzantine history it appears mainly as an adjunct to the emperor.

The people were interested in theological questions to a much greater degree than in the west of Europe, and frequently those disaffected politically espoused a doctrinal cause obnoxious to the emperor. Often they were able to show their opposition to a ruler or to his ministers only by taking up some controverted point in theology or by cheering the jockeys of the opposition color in the hippodrome, as these were the only safe methods of criticism. At times, the emperor imposed his will upon the church to establish some theological doctrine which was repugnant to the beliefs and habits of a large part of the subjects. Then serious trouble arose. The most noted instance was the iconoclastic struggle. In the capital, images, in the shape of both statues and pictures, adorned the churches and were held in great reverence by the masses. Apparently in Asia Minor and Syria there were a large number of Christians who had been affected by the teachings of Islam concerning idols and thought it their duty to discard all such representations of saints or of divinity. After Leo the Armenian had beaten off the Saracens in 718, he attempted the even more difficult task of ridding the churches of all images. This aroused great opposition; riots broke out; some of the emperor's officials, when attempting to remove an image of Christ, were killed by a mob; the emperor executed some of the leaders and called upon the army to enforce his policy throughout the Empire. The monks were the leaders of the Iconodules, or slaves to images, as the Iconoclasts called them, and suffered some persecution. The struggle lasted for over a century, during which time most of the emperors were Iconoclasts and the officials sided with them. But the people clung to the images, and finally the empress, Theodora, acting as guardian for her son, brought about a change of imperial policy, deposed the iconoclastic patriarch who had been her husband's appointee, and decreed the restoration of images. But the outcome was a partial compromise, as after that the icons were always pictures, and statues were no longer venerated in the churches.

Iconoclasm

This long struggle showed the power of the people in Constan-

tinople. While the majority of the population in the Asiatic themes had apparently sided with the iconoclastic emperor, the citizens in the capital, aside from the high office-holders both in church and state, had been opposed. The army had been on the imperial side. But the people had finally carried the day. The emperors always had to humor the populace. Constantine had granted a dole of grain and had arranged for races and games in the hippodrome — the old Roman policy of giving *panen et circenses*. The factions were allowed great freedom in the hippodrome, as is evident from the account of the events which led up to the Nika riot under Justinian. The members of the factions were at times enrolled as soldiers to defend the city. The great plague in 542 had swept away many of the people; we are told that 5000 persons a day died in Constantinople. But the population was recruited again and consisted of representatives of many nations. The occupations which attracted them seem to have been commerce and industry, the governmental offices and the positions in the church, both of which were very numerous. All of these occupations were essential to the prosperity of the Empire and the people engaged in them and living at the capital exercised an influence which was usually silent, but decisive upon the policy of the emperors. The murmurs of the populace might compel an emperor to dismiss an unpopular minister or even to take a colleague who was desired by the people. The fact that offices, even the highest, might be aspired to by a man of ability, was a constant incentive to many a boy of humble rank. And those who rose to prominence in the imperial service remained in touch, through their relatives, with popluar opinion.

Power of People

There was a decided difference between the capital and the provinces. In the latter, apart from the commercial centers, feudalism became more and more dominant, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. The causes were similar to those which had built up the power of the nobles in the West during the fourth and fifth centuries. The small proprietors needed protection and commended themselves to the powerful. Great estates were formed and were increased by confiscations, until they sometimes embraced almost the whole of a province. The heads of the estates raised armies which served under their leadership. They became more and more dangerous to the emperor until finally in the eleventh century the great families of Asia Minor took possession of the imperial office. This feudalism, which differed in many respects from the western, has not been thoroughly treated; here, as in so many other fields of Byzantine history, it is necessary to be very cautious about generalizations, as much intensive

Feudalism

study is still needed. In fact, in almost every phase of the economic or social life of the Byzantine Empire scholars can find subjects which will repay the most careful work.

The emperors had aided in the growth of these great estates because at first they made the problem of securing funds more easy, as the head of the estate could be held responsible for the taxes due from all the people dwelling upon it. Justinian had drawn heavily upon the treasury for his great wars and many buildings, so that the Empire was almost exhausted. But his successors, especially in times of crisis, had to find new methods of wringing money from the people. The ordinary direct taxes were the land tax and the hearth tax; the latter was a fixed sum from each household. In addition there were taxes on inheritances, judicial fines, and customs duties. The last were very important and were frequently heavy, but they do not seem to have burdened commerce, as the merchants continued to prosper. The land tax caused the greatest difficulty and was frequently manipulated to aid monasteries or to check the growth of the power of the feudal lords. Religious institutions, including monasteries, hospitals and orphanages, were at times exempt from all taxation. The result was a rapid growth of such institutions and the monasteries in particular acquired great estates on which the people paid no hearth tax. Consequently some emperors felt it necessary to restrict the alienation of property to monasteries and even to force the monks to relinquish a part of their holdings. They took similar action to restrain the growth of large lay estates and the power of their possessors. But the latter were too strong and their support was often too necessary to the emperor, so that the attempts to use taxation as a weapon had little result. They only emphasized the differences between the commercial and industrial capital and the feudal provinces.

As these differences became more pronounced they led to a policy which was fraught with peril. Too many of the emperors, when not confronted with actual danger from a strong external foe, neglected the army, fearing to give too much power into the hands of the local nobles who led their own troops. They employed mercenaries, Varangians and men from the border tribes, in preference to calling upon the natives of Asia Minor who had been so efficient under their feudal lords. The people of the capital were unmilitary in their tastes and influenced the imperial policy. This was especially true after the death of Basil, "slayer of the Bulgarians," in 1025. There seemed then little danger from the caliphate, which was so weak, or from the border tribes to the north which were impressed by the victory over the Bul-

garians. Consequently the army was neglected and the peace-loving Constantinople held sway. This was fatal. For this period was the one in which the decline was most evident and when the Empire was to be subjected to greater disasters than it had experienced for centuries.

Schism

Soon after the middle of the eleventh century a series of events occurred which make an epoch in Byzantine history. First, the consummation of the break between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. Relations between the two had been strained for centuries, ever since the time when Gregory the Great had protested against the use by the patriarch of the title "Ecumenical Bishop," to which he opposed his own title of *servus servorum Dei*. At the time of the iconoclastic decree of Leo the Isaurian, the pope called a council, which anathematized all who should refuse to reverence images. Consequently, the emperor decreed that the dioceses in southern Italy should no longer be under the jurisdiction of the pope, but under the patriarch. During the period of iconoclastic emperors the popes were opposed to their authority. Soon after the strife ended came the struggle between Ignatius and Photius for the patriarchate, when the former appealed to the pope and won his support, in opposition to the emperor. In consequence of this the Synod of Constantinople in 867 accused the Roman Church of heresy, especially denouncing the enforced celibacy of the priests and the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeded both from the Father and from the Son; the latter they declared "a heresy so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas." Attempts were made to patch up the differences, but neither of the churches was willing to make real concessions and there was much rivalry concerning missions to the Bulgarians and Slavs, as each church tried to enroll these peoples in their own fold. Finally the patriarch shut the Latin churches and convents in Constantinople and brought matters to an issue. Each church excommunicated the other and the schism became final in 1054. After this there was a hostile feeling in the West and some historians have thought that Pope Urban's main interest in preaching the crusade was the desire to bring the Greek Church under the authority of the Roman.

Rise of Comneni

The second decisive event was the transference of the imperial office to the heads of the great aristocratic families in Asia Minor, which resulted in the dominance of the Comneni. With them the Oriental influence became stronger, despotism became more marked, and a series of disasters showed the decline of the Empire. The carefully organized administrative bureaus seem to have been neglected and the power apparently passed into the hands of

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untrained favorites. Commerce was gradually diverted from Byzantine vessels to the ships of the rising Italian seaports; the emperor's income was lessened.

Seljuks

The most disastrous event, however, was the advance of the Seljukian Turks. They had occupied Bagdad in 1055 and were pressing steadily westward. They subjugated Armenia and Georgia and then attacked the Empire itself. At Manzikert, in 1071, they won a great victory and captured the emperor. They soon had possession of all the interior of Asia Minor and in 1074 a new emperor had to make a disgraceful treaty by which he abandoned to the Turks all that they had conquered, and a Turkish general established himself at Nicæa.

Alexius

Conditions seemed desperate, but the Empire was not yet exhausted, and under Alexius Comnenus, who became emperor in 1081, showed more of its old vitality. He struggled against the Turks and by the death of their ruler in 1092 was freed from his greatest danger, as Turkish leaders set up independent principalities and quarreled among themselves, instead of joining in war against Alexius. He was attacked by the Norman Robert Guiscard, who, going over from southern Italy, captured Durazzo and for almost four years waged war successfully, conquering many places and making ready to attack Constantinople. His death in 1085 and the contests among his sons in Italy averted this danger from the Empire, which had been in desperate straits. The Patzinaks on the north repeatedly raided the Empire and in conjunction with the Turks attempted to besiege Constantinople. In 1091 Alexius finally won a victory over them and slaughtered many thousands of men, women, and children, so that the greater part of the nation was destroyed and the remainder forced to furnish soldiers for the imperial army. The first ten years of Alexius' reign had been years of almost uninterrupted conflict and he had been obliged to seize property of the church in order to hire mercenaries. In the army which fought against Robert Guiscard at Durazzo were Normans, Franks, English, Germans, Russians, Bulgarians, Armenians, Turks, and men from other nations. These hirelings were frequently treacherous and deserted to the emperor's foes. Alexius in turn bribed the followers of his opponents and used all the resources of tricky diplomacy to protect himself. Finally, in 1092, as a result of his strenuous efforts and a great good fortune in the death of his most dangerous antagonists, he obtained a breathing spell in which to strengthen his empire. But, as this had lost most of its territories, he desired as soon as possible to reconquer some of its Asiatic possessions; and the strife among the Turks seemed to furnish a

favorable opportunity. In order to utilize this he needed troops and these he sought, as often before, from the Christian states in the West. The result will be discussed in the next chapter.

Influence of the Byzantine Empire

Before ending this chapter on the Byzantine Empire it is important to note its influence on the general history of Europe. The whole eastern half of Europe owes its civilization to new Rome and not to old Rome. Russia and the Balkan states came under the influence of Constantinople and derived from it their religion and many of their customs. On the western countries its influence was less marked, but still very important. From its earliest days the new capital of the Empire had had many connections with the west of Europe. These became less frequent after the days of Charlemagne, with whom Byzantine emperors had exchanged presents and embassies. But there were associations through the papacy, through commerce, and because of the Greek possessions in southern Italy. Otto the Great obtained a Greek princess as the bride of his son and she brought in her train Greek attendants and Greek fashions which impressed the imagination of the Germans. In times of need the Byzantines had sought aid from the West. During the period of the crusades the intercourse was to be much greater and the more advanced civilization was destined to exert a more powerful influence upon the westerners, even although the latter were usually hostile.

Conservatism

The conservatism which was the most marked characteristic of the Byzantine civilization preserved much of the classical literature and learning. In no sphere of thought or action was there a sharp break with the past. Law, government, military science, art, slowly evolved, constantly building upon the older traditions. Even in religion there was no such great change as we are apt to imagine must take place when Christianity supersedes paganism. As Hatch has pointed out, Greek influence profoundly modified the original ideas and ideals of Christianity. The Byzantines with their love and study of the old Greek classics imbibed many of the pagan points of view. Just as they interpreted the Bible allegorically the preachers explained the fall of Troy as a moral allegory. Plato was made into a precursor of Christ. Michael Psellos, one of the most influential leaders in the eleventh century, had learned the Iliad by heart and when profoundly moved by the death of his sister vented his grief in verses which show no trace of Christian influence, but are filled with pagan feeling. The fact that there had been no such break with the past as occurred in the West enabled Constantinople to perform its greatest service as a storehouse of classical traditions and learning until the West had reached a

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maturity of thought which led it to desire such mental pabulum. The western scholars drew upon this hoard for centuries, at first hesitatingly, then with confidence, until the time came in the days of the "Renaissance" when they made almost a fetich of Homer.

Learning and authorship were held in high renown at Constantinople. Naturally dwelling upon the past glories, as was their conservative tendency, the scholars were to a great extent compilers and merely handed down the works of the great men of antiquity. By this means the learning of Greece was preserved, for their own use, for the Arabs, and later for the modern world. We owe much of our knowledge to the epitomes and compilations in vogue among the Byzantines. Emperors were patrons of literature and also authors. Reference has already been made to their works on military science and law. Constantine VII, in the tenth century, among other writings, prepared a treatise on the administration of the Empire, to which we owe much of our information, and also one on the ceremonies and court functions. It is very interesting to see how the etiquette of the Byzantine court influenced western usages and to compare the pompous ceremonial which surrounded a Louis XIV of France with the customs described by the tenth-century Byzantine emperor.

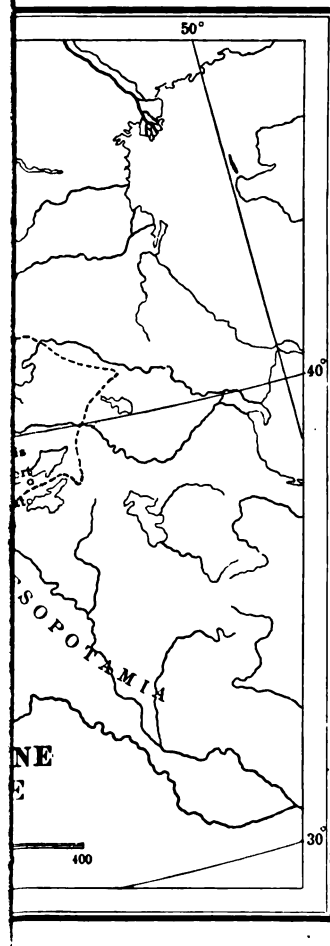
Literature

The influence might be traced along very many lines, but possibly it was the most striking in the various fields of art. Passing over the jewelry, ivory work, enamels, embroidery, and many minor arts, in architecture and painting the debt to Byzantium is enormous. Justinian was a great builder and his chief work was S. Sophia, "the fairest church in all the world," to quote a western medieval writer. With this judgment Ferguson agrees, declaring that internally it is "the most perfect and beautiful church ever yet erected by any Christian people." It served as a model for many medieval churches in Italy and southern France, and its influence can be traced to-day in almost every Christian country. Equally marked is the importance of Byzantine painting. In the first half of the last century a painter's hand-book, which dates from the eleventh century or earlier, was discovered in a Byzantine monastery. It contained practical rules for the artists and designs for representations of Biblical and sacred scenes. "Here, in fact, in an old monkish practice-book, are the types of sacred art as we find it in sculpture, mosaic, fresco, metal, and illuminated work from the sixth to the sixteenth century, and from Syria to Ireland, throughout the Christian world." [1]

Art

[1] Harrison, Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages (London, 1900), p. 60.

ppeal
f Alexius



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wars between the feudal lords were constant. Some fought to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors; others fought to avenge injuries; in fact, fighting was for many the best loved sport, and any pretext was good. But the zest for combat was keenest when there was likelihood of obtaining booty in some form.

Love of Fighting

Asceticism

The spirit of unrest also manifested itself in a strong tendency toward asceticism. This had always been an ingredient of medieval Christianity, and it now became more marked than ever. Men were much interested in the life after death, and believed that a life of suffering on earth would profit them in the hereafter. With the movement toward reformation of the Church in the eleventh century asceticism became much more pronounced. Individuals were lauded for their self-denial and self-torture. Legends of the saints dwelt lovingly upon marvelous incidents of mortification of the flesh. Sinners were urged to atone for their past misdeeds by a life of self-abnegation, and many entered monasteries. New monastic orders, embodying stricter discipline and greater asceticism, were founded toward the close of the eleventh and in the beginning of the twelfth century, and soon enrolled a great number of converts. Religious leaders like Peter Damiani and popes like Gregory VII lent their influence to the increase in the practice of asceticism. The people, as a rule, admired those who were noted for extreme asceticism, and themselves submitted to fasting and other forms of privation to atone for their sins and to insure salvation in the next world. One of the reforms of the Council of Piacenza was the regulation of the "fasts of the four seasons." It is apparent that many men were disturbed over their spiritual condition and were ready to undertake some pious task, even if it involved a change in their life, so great was their unrest and dissatisfaction with their condition.

Pilgrimages.

Pilgrimages were especially favored as a form of penance. Sometimes the goal was the shrine of some local saint; for serious offenses the guilty might be commanded to go to Rome; but the supreme penance for the most heinous crimes, such as incest, the burning of a church, or the infraction of the truce of God, was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Ever since Helena, the mother of Constantine, had discovered the true cross, that city had been the great goal for pilgrims. Accounts of the journey thither were eagerly treasured and the number of pilgrims increased. Of the pilgrimages to Jerusalem that have been recorded there were six in the eighth century, twelve in the ninth, sixteen in the tenth, and one hundred and seventeen in the eleventh, before the beginning

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of the crusades. Moreover, in this last century greater vogue was given to this form of penance by the example of the German bishops who, with seven thousand followers, are said to have set out for Jerusalem in 1065, and by the pilgrimages of nobles, as, for example, Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, who made the pilgrimage at least three times, or the father of William the Conqueror, Duke Robert of Normandy. The latter set out bare-footed on the long journey. When he had to pass through a city, he sent his followers ahead so that he might himself, unprotected, suffer insults from those who were ignorant of his station. When a gatekeeper struck him, he received the blow cheerfully, as a favor from heaven; "This stroke is dearer to me than the best city of my dukedom." Accounts of such pilgrimages did much to enhance the interest in the land where Christ lived, and the desire to "worship where His feet have stood."

Elsewhere attention will be called to other ways in which the unrest asserted itself; e. g., in the increased activity of merchants, in the journeyings of students to centers of learning, in the peasants' desire to better their lot. Pope Urban was conscious of these conditions, and laid his plans carefully for the initiation of a movement that should free the Holy Land from the hands of the pagans; for his purpose had grown to embrace much more than a mere project to aid Alexius. He had consulted with leaders in southern France, and had called a council to meet at Clermont in Auvergne. There no building could hold the throngs whom the rumor of some great undertaking had brought together. There, in the open air, on November 25, 1095, Urban delivered the most effective oration recorded in history.

Council of Clermont

The pope began by praising the valor of the Franks and recalling to them the great deeds of their ancestors. Then he spoke of the necessity of aiding their brethren in the East, of the appeals for help that had come so frequently because of the victorious advance of the Turks. He dwelt at length upon the sufferings that were inflicted upon the Christians and upon the desecration of the holy places. He gave examples of cruelty, and aroused deep emotion in his hearers by pointing out the manner in which the places they held most sacred were being defiled. Then emphasizing the special sanctity of Jerusalem, he declared that this was God's own work, that, for all who participated, the journey itself would take the place of all other penance. He urged them to engage in righteous warfare instead of wasting their strength and imperiling their souls by civil strife at home. He pointed out the evil conditions in France which reduced many to starvation, and compared with this the opportunity

Speech of Urban

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for acquiring homes in a land flowing with milk and honey, and for securing at the same time eternal rewards. He urged them not to let any ties prevent them from entering upon this holy undertaking in which they would march with Christ as their leader. This speech aroused the utmost enthusiasm. Thousands pressed forward to take the cross. Urban seems to have been surprised at his own success, and found it necessary to attempt to check the excessive enthusiasm by ordering that women should not go without the consent of their husbands, that priests and monks should not join the movement without the approbation of their superiors, and that old men and children should remain at home. But he was powerless to stay the flood that he had set in motion. When ambassadors arrived on the following day to say that Raymond of Toulouse, the most powerful count in France, had taken the cross, success seemed assured.

Peter the Hermit

After Clermont, Urban preached the crusade in other places, and his example was followed by many. The most successful was Peter the Hermit, to whom the whole movement was formerly attributed. It has been proved that Peter had never been in Jerusalem and that his preaching began only after the Council of Clermont. But this in no way lessens his actual achievement. He went through a large part of France, mounted upon a mule, and preaching wherever he could find an audience. His arms and feet were bare; he ate sparingly of the food that was set before him; he preached repentance; and he soon came to be regarded popularly as a saint. "Even the hairs were snatched from his mule to be preserved as relics." Throngs of people surrounded him, and by the time he reached Cologne, in March, 1096, thousands had determined to follow him on his crusade.

The First Bands

The pope had set August 15, 1096, as the date for departure, but the people whom Peter had aroused were impatient to start. Two bands, each numbering some thousands, set out in the spring and marched across Germany, through Hungary and Bulgaria, and down to Constantinople. The first had a remarkably successful march, and aroused little hostility; the second, which Peter led, was not so orderly, and became involved in fighting with the Bulgarians, so that many pilgrims were killed or enslaved. When the bands arrived at Constantinople, the emperor advised them to remain until the main army came up, as the danger would be great if they went into the enemy's country. Unfortunately, some were unruly and proved themselves undesirable visitors; it is said that some even stole lead from the roof of a church in order to sell it. Alexius soon wished to be

rid of them, and furnished vessels to convey them across the Hellespont. There, after a few weeks, they aroused the wrath of the Turks by their plundering expeditions and were exterminated. Other expeditions followed later under the leadership of adventurers. Some plundered the Jews. All were unruly, and no one of them succeeded in reaching Constantinople. Because of the ill deeds of these later bands and the lack of success of Peter, it has been the habit to speak contemptuously of the "peasants' crusade," a misleading name under which all these first movements have been grouped.

In the summer and autumn of 1096 the real hosts began their march. Count Raymond of Toulouse is said to have had one hundred thousand men. He is described by a contemporary as being "as fanatical as a monk and as land-greedy as a Norman." With him went Bishop Adhemar of Puy, who had been the first to take the cross at the Council at Clermont and had been made the papal legate. He is described by the same contemporary as

Facilis ad omne bonum
Et gracilis ad equitandum.

He was to be the means of maintaining peace in the army. From Flanders and Lorraine went Godfrey of Bouillon, an honest man and a hard fighter. His position later at the head of the government in the holy city won for him the great prestige, and led many to ascribe to him the leadership of the whole movement. With him went his brothers Eustace and Baldwin and the latter's wife. From Normandy went Duke Robert, able, but rash and improvident. In order to acquire means for his journey he had pledged his duchy to his brother for ten thousand marks; the latter secured twice this amount from the first year's incom. Also from the north of France went Hugh the Great, the brother of the king, who surrounded himself with a number of other tall knights, all clad in shining armor. From central France went Stephen of Blois, who is said to have been the wealthiest man who took part in the movement. He had married the daughter of the king of England, and is said to have owned a castle for each day in the year. From southern Italy went the Norman Bohemond and his kinsman Tancred. Bohemond was the shrewdest of all the leaders. Tancred was unscrupulous and not at all the ideal hero he was later considered to have been.

The Leaders

These were the chief leaders, and around them gathered all who chose to take part in the movement. Men came from the uttermost islands, and indicated by signs their desire to take part in the crusade. All were gladly received, and the armies grew con-

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The Start

stantly as they proceeded on their way. A vivid account has been left of their start, written by one of the participants: "Then the husband announced to his wife the exact time of his return, assuring her that if he lived he would return to his country and to her at the end of three years. He commended her to the Lord, gave her a kiss, and promised to come back to her. But the wife, who feared that she would never see him again, overcome with grief, was unable to stand, fell almost lifeless to the ground, and wept over her dear one whom she was losing in life, as if he were already dead. He then, as if he had no pity — and nevertheless he was filled with pity — and was not moved by the lamentations of his wife or children or friends — and yet he was secretly moved — departed with mind firmly set upon his purpose. The sadness was for those who remained, the joy for those who departed. What more can we say? 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes.'"

The March

Before they set out the leaders made their plans to meet in Constantinople. They went by different routes. Godfrey followed the so-called road of Charles the Great up the Rhine, through southern Germany, then through Hungary and Bulgaria, to the Greek empire. Count Raymond marched through northern Italy, around the head of the Adriatic, and across Greece. Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Hugh the Great, and Bohemond all crossed over from Italy to Greece by vessels, but at different times. All made their march successfully. Godfrey met with little hindrance until, believing that the Greek emperor had proved treacherous, he began to make reprisals by plundering. Count Raymond had some difficulty among the mountaineers, and was compelled to terrify them into submission by his cruelty. His chronicler tells us that the army was greatly annoyed by the fog, which was so thick that it could be cut with a knife. Bohemond had no trouble in maintaining order as long as he was with his army.

The real difficulties came from the emperor's attitude. He had desired aid, but had not expected to have any such armies turned loose upon his empire. Gibbon has compared his plight to that of the "shepherd who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his cottage was swept away by the inundation." Such was the fate that Alexius feared. He had formerly been at war with Bohemond and his father Robert. He feared now that the crusaders would attempt to seize his capital. At the same time he wished to make use of them. Consequently he endeavored by cunning, by violence, or by

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Alexius and the Leaders

bribery to win each individual over to his cause. Hugh the Great was the first to reach the boundaries of the Greek empire. He had previously sent a message to the emperor which the latter's daughter, Anna Comnena, says was very insolent. The emperor was waiting for his coming; and when the vessel in which Hugh was journeying was thrown upon the shore and wrecked, Hugh was received by the emperor's official and conducted to Constantinople. But he was not entirely free. The news that Hugh was in prison came to Godfrey and caused him to begin his plundering. Finally the emperor succeeded in making terms with both Hugh and Godfrey, and assured himself of their alliance. Bohemond was easily won over by bribery. Raymond refused to take an oath to the emperor, but finally consented to a modified form, because of his intense hatred of Bohemond, a hatred that he shared with Alexius. All of the leaders were finally brought to take an oath that if they should conquer cities that had once belonged to the Greek empire, they would restore these to the emperor, and the emperor in turn promised that he would aid them in their crusade.

Capture of Nicæa

The first military undertaking was against the city of Nicæa, where all the army finally gathered in the summer of 1097. The crusaders invested the city, and, with the aid of boats that were sent overland by the emperor, brought it to the point of surrender. Just as the crusaders were rejoicing that they would soon be sacking the city and wreaking their will upon the inhabitants, they saw the emperor's flag waving from a city tower. The inhabitants had preferred to surrender to him rather than to suffer the barbarities of a sack. The emperor gave money freely to the leaders, and, as a chronicler derisively described it, some brass coins to the common people. Consequently they departed, "some with kindly feelings and others with different emotions." Stephen of Blois wrote home exultingly to his wife that the emperor had given him more money than he got with her dowry.

March to Antioch

The march from Nicæa to Antioch proved long and dangerous. On the 4th of July they fought and eventually won the battle of Dorylæum; but victory was snatched from defeat only by the heroism of the leaders. On the march through the mountains they suffered from heat and thirst, so that many died. Their beasts of burden perished, and dogs were pressed into the service to carry the packs. They made a long delay among the Armenians in order to secure aid from the latter. Baldwin left the army in order to secure Edessa. Finally, late in the year 1098, the others reached the great city of Antioch.

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The capture of this city was an arduous task, for they were not able to invest it completely. Moreover, the discipline was bad and the army was improvident. In the first week of the siege they ate up most of their provisions and wasted their food in riotous living. They then repented humbly for their sins, sent away the evil women from the army, and sought the aid of the Lord. There seemed little chance of their eventual success; but Bohemond was planning to obtain the city, which he coveted for a principality. He persuaded the other leaders to agree that whoever captured it should have it. He had bribed an Armenian who had command of one of the towers, so that when the agreement was reached the traitor let down a rope ladder, and Bohemond and his men were soon on the city walls. They opened the gates, and Antioch was captured.

Capture of Antioch

The army, now that they had ample provisions in the city, devoted the first few days to feasting and excesses. They did not even attempt to capture the citadel, which was still held by the Turks. When Kerbogha appeared and invested the city, they were caught. They soon exhausted their provisions, and famine set in. Peter the Hermit and others attempted to run away by letting themselves down from the city walls by ropes. They were called contemptuously the "rope-dancers." Peter was captured and brought back; Stephen of Blois made good his escape and, going northward, met the Greek emperor, who was hastening down with an army. When Alexius learned the desperate position the crusaders were in, he retreated and left them to their fate. During this time a certain peasant, Peter Bartholomew, had a vision in which Christ appeared to him and told him that the holy lance was buried in a church in Antioch. This lance was the one that had pierced the Saviour's side as He hung upon the cross. The peasant went first to Bishop Adhemar, who would not believe his story. Then he went to Count Raymond, who was credulous. They dug in the appointed place, and at dusk, when only a few were present, the lance was produced by the man who had had the vision. Most of the leaders seem to have felt that the whole thing was a fraud; but after due deliberation they decided that it was worth while to use the lance to arouse enthusiasm. Consequently they marched out against the enemy, Bishop Adhemar bearing the holy lance. They surprised and routed Kerbogha and almost annihilated his army.

The Holy Lance

Bohemond was left in charge of the city, and the army proceeded to take possession of other places. "Each one thought only of his own advantage, and no one cared for the common good." Each leader was intent only upon what he might secure

for himself, and there was no zeal for going to Jerusalem. Disputes broke out, and the holy lance formed the pretext for many. Count Raymond still believed in it; but the other leaders, after having used it in their time of need, were now skeptical. Bishop Adhemar had died, and there was no one to keep peace. Finally the man who had had the vision was compelled to undergo the ordeal by fire in order to prove his assertions. Raymond's chaplain who believed in the genuineness of the lance gives the following account of the ordeal. "The leaders and the people to the number of fifty thousand came together; the priests were there also with bare feet, clothed in ecclesiastical garments. The invocation was made: 'If Omnipotent God has spoken to this man face to face, and the blessed Andrew has shown him our Lord's lance while he was keeping his vigil, let him go through the fire unharmed. But if it is false, let him be burned, together with the lance which he is to carry in his hand.' And all responded on bended knees, 'Amen.' The fire was growing so hot that the flames shot up thirty cubits high into the air, and scarcely any one dared approach it. Then Peter Bartholomew, clothed only in his tunic and kneeling before the bishop of Albar called God to witness that he had seen Him face to face on the cross, and that he had heard from Him those words above written. . . . Then, when the bishop had placed the lance in his hand, he kneeled and made the sign of the cross, and entered the fire with the lance, firm and unterrified. For an instant's time he paused in the midst of the flames, and then by the grace of God passed through. . . . But when Peter emerged from the fire so that neither his tunic was burned nor even the thin cloth with which the lance was wrapped up had shown any sign of damage, the whole people received him after he had made over them the sign of the cross with the lance in his hand, and cried, 'God aid us!' All the people, I say, threw themselves upon him and dragged him to the ground and trampled on him, each one wishing to get a piece of his garment, and each thinking him near some one else. And so he received three or four wounds in the legs, where the flesh was torn away, his back was injured and his sides bruised. Peter had died on the spot, as we believe, had not Raymond Pelet, a brave and noble soldier, broken through the wild crowd with a band of friends and rescued him at the peril of their lives. . . . After this Peter died in peace at the hour appointed to him by God, and journeyed to the Lord; and he was buried in the place where he had carried the lance of the Lord through the fire."

Finally Raymond was compelled to lead his followers to Jeru-

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salem, for they threatened to go without him if he did not do so. Some of the other leaders accompanied him; but Stephen had gone home, Bohemond was in Antioch, and Baldwin in Edessa. The army, which was said to number twenty thousand, arrived before Jerusalem on June 7, 1099. At first they hoped that the walls of Jerusalem would fall as the walls of Jericho had done, and they marched barefoot around the city, blowing their horns. Finally, by desperate valor, they succeeded in storming the city, which fell into their hands on July 15. They proceeded to make an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants — all ages and both sexes. The princes wrote home exultingly to the pope: "And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

Capture of Jerusalem

Having captured the city, the question of its disposal was uppermost. The members of the clergy insisted that no ruler ought to be chosen for the holy city, but that it should be Church property. As the papal legate had died and no one had been appointed in his place, the clergy had no leader, and their wishes were not heeded. One week after the capture of the city the nobles met to choose a ruler. Raymond was offered the kingship, but declined, saying that he was unwilling to wear a crown of gold where our Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. Finally Godfrey was chosen with the title "baron and defender of the Holy Sepulcher." In this way a conflict between the clerical and lay parties was avoided.

Election of Godfrey

When Godfrey died the following summer, the patriarch attempted to call in Bohemond as his successor; but Bohemond had just been taken prisoner by the Moslems. Since on his death-bed Godfrey had designated his brother as his heir, messengers were sent by Godfrey's party to Baldwin, and he, "grieving somewhat at his brother's death, but rejoicing much more over the inheritance," set out for Jerusalem. At first he was not recognized as king by the patriarch; but he showed himself a man of real ability, and on Christmas day, 1100, he was crowned. The coronation took place not in Jerusalem but at Bethlehem, and it was not until the trouble with the patriarch had ended that Baldwin took the title "king of Jerusalem." As the inhabitants had been massacred when the city had been captured, the new rulers found it necessary to gain the good will of the natives in order to repopulate it. Baldwin offered privileges and freedom of trade to all without distinction of race or creed. Men who

King Baldwin

themselves came from different nations were forced to live in close association with the natives, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Saracens and others.

This was due to the nature of the country. The greatest length of the Christian holdings at any time, from the extreme north in Edessa to the extreme southern point, was somewhat more than five hundred miles; the breadth was in many places less than fifty miles. The country may be divided into four zones. On the border of the Mediterranean there is in some places a sandy plain a few miles in width; in other places the sea beats against the rocky coast. To the eastward is a mountainous country with many springs and offering some good land for farming. Beyond the mountains is the valley of the Jordan, a depressed trough, a land of great fertility. To the eastward of this, mountains and deserts; on the slopes of the mountains there were occasionally villages and some important places. The Christians never succeeded in conquering all of this country. The Mohammedans always held strongholds in the mountains, and in addition some important cities, like Damascus. It was only very gradually that the seaports were captured by the Christians. There was no stronghold of the Christians that was not within a day's ride of the enemy; consequently the two peoples were always face to face.

Geographical Conditions

Their forced association caused a great change in the feelings of the Christians. When they had started out on the crusade they had felt contempt for the Mohammedans; they had been led to believe that the latter were cowards. In their first battles each learned to respect the other, and thus the way was prepared for more intimate relations. In their constant strife with one another the Mohammedans welcomed assistance from the Christians. The Christians almost as soon as they entered Syria began to quarrel among themselves, and very soon they were seeking aid from the infidels against men of their own religion. Consequently alliances between Franks and Mohammedans were frequent. Both were passionately devoted to hunting, but realized the danger from their neighbors unless some mutual understanding could be reached. Very soon hunting agreements were entered into by antagonists who lived near each other, so that when either party was hunting he might be free from danger of attack. The Franks had taken with them to the Holy Land horses, hawks, and dogs. Very soon enthusiastic sportsmen among both peoples were comparing the respective merits of their animals and making trades. Safe conducts were exchanged

Friendly Relations

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and were honored by both parties. In this way many associations came about, and close friendships were formed between the adherents of the rival religions.

The Franks who occupied the country were relatively few in number, and they were engaged in the early years in defending their conquests or in attempting the reduction of other strongholds. They had no opportunity to cultivate the land or to do the necessary building of fortresses and churches. For this they employed native workmen, without regard to race or creed. They had to treat these workmen well in order to retain their services, because it was easy for the laborers to leave at any time and escape from the power of the Franks. They employed native overseers and intrusted authority to them. In the second half of the century an Arab traveler bemoaned the fact that his co-religionists preferred to work for the Franks because they received better treatment and more exact justice.

Employment of Natives

Such associations with the natives led to the adoption of new customs by the men from the West. First of all, they adopted the clothing suitable to the country, because it was more comfortable and frequently more handsome than their own. In food they acquired new tastes, and especially learned to need sugar and spices. They preferred Oriental houses, with their cool courts and running water, to anything they had known at home. As they became better acquainted with the natives they began to call on them for assistance in lines where they felt the superiority of the Mohammedans. In medicine, for example, they soon learned to prefer the Mohammedan doctors, who treated patients by dieting and medicine, in place of the Christian practitioners, who were too apt to use the knife or the ax in every emergency. But the most striking illustration of the effect of the association between the different races is to be found in some changes that took place in their religious ideas. A wonder-working virgin was worshiped by Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews. Certain shrines were held holy by everybody. Moslems said their prayers in Christian chapels. The intense feeling against heresy and schism, which was so strong in the West, was almost non-existent among the Franks in the East; different sects worshiped in the same church; some bishops of the Roman Church actually consecrated a bishop of a heretical sect.

Adoption of New Customs

The associations and friendly relations were caused in part by the weakness of both Christians and infidels. Of the former the number who remained in the Holy Land after the first crusade was very small, and their allegiance was divided among

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several overlords who were seldom in friendly coöperation. But the Turks were equally divided for more than a generation. Consequently the first two kings were able to conquer almost all the seaports and to extend the kingdom. But in order to secure a fleet to reduce a seaport the king had to hire the aid of one of the Italian cities; thus Arsuf and Cæsarea were conquered in 1101 by the aid of the Genoese. who had bargained for a third of the booty and a quarter in the city to be under their administration. Similar terms were demanded and obtained by the Pisans and Venetians when they furnished aid, so that parts of each coast city were in the hands of the Italians and not under the king's authority. Moreover, the interests of the Italians, when they had secured the trading centers, were usually in the maintenance of peace, not in the continuance of the conquests. The king never had a large enough army to attempt conquests in the interior except when bands of pilgrims came for a few months, and over such pilgrims he had no authority. The members of the two military orders, the Templars and the Hospitalers, whose rise will be discussed elsewhere, were a great aid when they coöperated; but they were independent of the king, and in time came to be bitter rivals of each other, seldom joining loyally in any enterprise. Lastly, except for brief periods, the rulers of the four states — the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, the county of Edessa, and the county of Tripoli — were never united for the common cause.

Division among Christians

Toward the middle of the twelfth century the Moslems in Syria and the country to the northeast became united under one ruler, Imad-ed-din Zangi. In 1127 he was made governor of Mosul, on the Tigris. He began his conquests by reducing the rival Mohammedan rulers to the east of the Euphrates and in northern Syria, capturing Aleppo and Hamah. Fortunately for the Christians, he was not able to follow up his successes, as renewed warfare against other Mohammedans occupied his energies for about fourteen years. Finally, in 1144, he was free to attempt the conquest of Edessa. This city was strongly fortified, but poorly defended, and was captured after a siege of only four weeks, in 1144.

Fall of Edessa

The news of the fall of Edessa brought about a renewed interest in the cause of the Holy Land. Louis VII of France took the cross and Bernard of Clairvaux was instructed by the pope to preach a crusade. He succeeded in winning over Conrad III of Germany, who described his own conversion as "a miracle of miracles." The two armies started out in 1147, the Germans preceding the French. Conrad and his followers were

The Second Crusade

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led astray, and all but the knights were almost annihilated by the Turks in Asia Minor. This crusade accomplished nothing. The two kings finally reached Jerusalem, where they conferred with the leaders and decided to attack Damascus. This great and wealthy city had never been captured by the Christians, but its inhabitants had usually paid tribute. Now the army, made up of the French and German knights, of the Templars and Hospitalers, and of the followers of the king of Jerusalem, camped before the city on a very favorable site. But there were traitors among the Christians who persuaded the kings that it would be better to go around to the other side of the city and make the attack from there. The army moved from its advantageous position, only to find the new location destitute of water and entirely unsuitable. When they attempted to return to their old position they found it occupied by the enemy, and there was nothing for them to do but to abandon the siege. There were lengthy recriminations, and finally the French and German kings went home in disgust. After this fiasco it was long difficult to arouse any enthusiasm in the West for aiding the Christians in the Holy Land.

Conditions in the Kingdom

All the early kings of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, 1100–1118, Baldwin II, 1118–1131, and Fulk, 1131–1143, had been born in the West and had been mature men when they had gone to the Holy Land. The succeeding kings were born there, and did not have the vigor of the adventurers from the West. Too often they followed an unwise policy with regard to Mohammedan affairs. Apparently they did not realize the danger inherent in the growing union among the Moslems. Nureddin had succeeded Zangi and had added Damascus to his dominions. He was an abler man than his father. After his death in 1174, Saladin, who had already conquered Egypt, which had been weakened by war with Jerusalem, gradually gained power over the Moslems in the north, and wrested some fortresses from the Christians. In the meantime the Christians, while fighting bravely on some occasions, were troubled by internal divisions. Those who wished to live in peace with the Mohammedans, so that trade might flourish, were numerous. Those who loved fighting were not in accord with one another. The king had comparatively little authority. Still worse was the position when Baldwin V was crowned king. He was only a child, and the rival nobles contended for power. When he died in 1186 Guy of Lusignan was crowned king, and this alienated the leader of the peace party, Count Raymond of Tripoli, who as regent had just made a truce with Saladin.

This truce was broken by Reginald of Châtillon. He was

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Reginald of Châtillon

an adventurer who had gone out from Europe to seek his fortune. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Syria he won the love of the heiress of Antioch, and by marrying her became the lord of that city. He quarreled bitterly with the patriarch of Antioch, and after the death of his wife was obliged to leave. He spent several years as a captive of the Saracens, and after his release had been placed in command of the fortress of Crac, which overlooked one of the main caravan routes. In spite of the truce between the Christians and the Mohammedans, when a rich caravan passed beneath the walls of his castle Reginald was unable to restrain his greed. He fell upon the caravan and plundered it. It has been stated that a sister of Saladin was in this caravan. Whether this is true or not, Saladin felt that there was no possibility of preserving peace with the Christians, and at once set out to inflict chastisement.

In the face of the danger the Christians united for the common defense. But Count Raymond of Tripoli had long been at variance with the king and with the grand-master of the Templars, and was trusted by neither. He was supposed to be in alliance with Saladin, with whom he was on terms of good friendship. The result was that the sound advice of Raymond was neglected and the Christians rashly took up an unfavorable position for battle and invited the Saracen attack. The battle of Hattin, which followed, was the destruction of the Christian cause. The king and his leaders, including Reginald, fell into the hands of Saladin. Reginald and the Templars were put to death; the others were spared. Then Saladin in a rapid campaign captured almost all of the strongholds of the Christians, most of them making no real defense. Finally he captured the city of Jerusalem itself. This was in 1187, when the city had been in the hands of the Christians about eighty-eight years.

Fall of Jerusalem

CHAPTER XXII

ENGLAND, 1087–1272.

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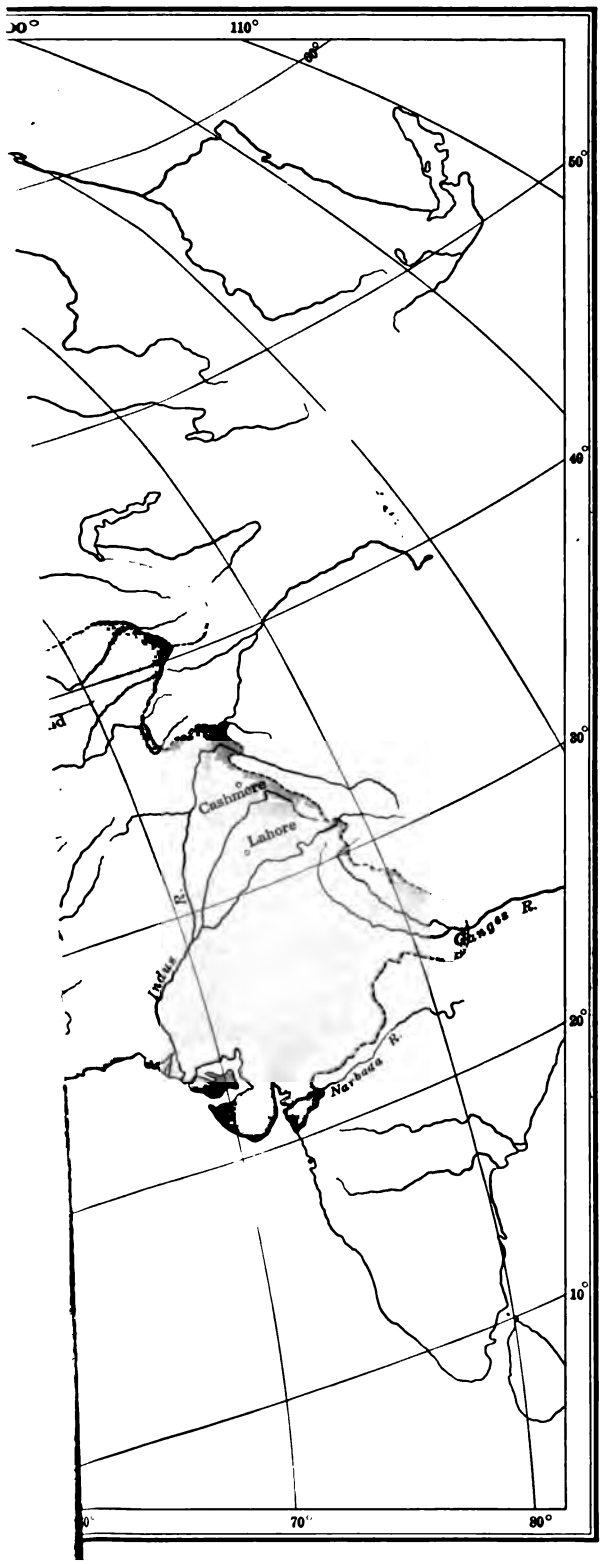
AFTER the Conquest, England was under the rule of an absolute monarch whose associations and interests were mainly on the other side of the Channel. The Church in England was under his control and had become a useful servant. The people were divided; two languages, in fact three, were in common use: Norman French was spoken at court, in business, and generally by the upper classes; English was the tongue of the common people; Latin was the language of the Church. There seemed to be little likelihood of unity among the people; or that England would become free from foreign entanglements and from the authority of a despotic ruler. Yet the thirteenth century saw the inhabitants of England fused into a united people and the country itself partially detached from entangling alliances, so that this people was able to become a strong nation and to curb the power of the king. The Church passed then from service to the king and championship of the people to domination over both to such an extent that it aroused general indignation.

Character of the Period

William Rufus, 1087-1100

On the Conqueror's death William Rufus became king — but not without opposition, as many of the nobles preferred his elder brother Robert, duke of Normandy. In order to put down their revolt William sought support from Englishmen, promising better government and lighter taxation. By their aid he crushed the barons. But he had to contend against Robert until the latter, wishing to go on the first crusade, made over the government of his duchy to him in return for money to equip the expedition to the Holy Land. He also had trouble with the Church. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the Conqueror's advisors, had aided William to secure the throne and exercised a restraining influence upon him. But after Lanfranc died in 1089 no archbishop was appointed for four years, as the king wished to keep the income of the archbishopric for his own expenses. Finally a fit of sickness led him to appoint Anselm of Bec, an Italian pupil of Lanfranc; but when he recovered he refused to invest Anselm and kept part of the property of Canterbury in his own hands. Anselm, finding that he could accomplish nothing, withdrew to the Continent. William threw


110°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
70°
80°
Cashmere
Lahore
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Nerbudda R.

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Character of the Period

William Rufus, 1087-1100

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aside all pretense of good government and religion, and his harsh rule made him so detested that there was a general feeling of relief when he was shot while hunting in the New Forest.

Henry I, 1100-1135

His brother Henry at once seized the royal treasure at Winchester and had himself crowned. Since his right to the succession was doubtful, and Robert, his elder brother, still had partizans, he felt it necessary to seek support by every possible means. He promulgated a charter of liberties, to be read in every shire court, promising good government and, in particular, to refrain from some of the acts that had made William unpopular. He punished the justiciar of his brother, who was especially disliked. He married the English Edith, a descendant of Alfred the Great, in order to secure the good will of the English.[1] He recalled Anslem and aided him in the reformation of the Church; but he came into conflict with him on the question of investiture. The two reached an agreement in 1106, by which the king gave up the right of investiture with ring and staff, the ecclesiastical insignia, but was to receive homage from each bishop and abbot before the latter could be consecrated. He was successful in reducing his unruly barons to obedience. After a long struggle with Robert, whom he captured and kept in prison, he obtained Normandy. He did this in spite of the aid given to Robert by the French king, who was anxious to restrict the power of Henry and to secure his own rights as overlord of Normandy. Henry also reformed the government of England in many ways; but these reforms will be discussed under Henry II. The long period of anarchy that followed the death of Henry I caused most of the reforms to be abandoned temporarily.

The king's son was drowned in the wreck of the *Whie Ship*[2] as he was crossing from Normandy to England. This led to a dispute over the succession, as the only other legitimate child was a daughter, Matilda, who had been married to Henry V of Germany and consequently was known as "the Empress". After the death of her first husband she had been married to Godfrey, count of Anjou. Henry attempted to secure the succession for her and her husband; but this was opposed by many barons both in England and Normandy, as they had often been at war with Anjou and did not want Godfrey for their lord and king. They favored Stephen, the nephew of Henry, who had

[1] As a result of this marriage, all the kings of England since the time of Henry, with the single exception of Stephen, have been descendants of both Alfred and William the Conqueror.

[2] The *Blanche-nef*, or *White Ship*, was owned by the son of the master-mariner in whose vessel William had crossed to conquer England. The wreck was due to "a great drinking bout."

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many fiefs in both England and Normandy and powerful friends among the clergy. He went to England as soon as Henry died, seized the royal treasure, and had himself crowned. Since his position was insecure, he issued a charter of liberties similar to the one that Henry had granted but had frequently violated. Stephen was not so strong as either William Rufus or Henry, and was not able to maintain order or to carry on the administration effectively. Matilda invaded England, while her husband attempted to secure Normandy. This brought on a civil war in which they found many adherents. During the struggle between the two claimants the nobles favored sometimes one, sometimes the other, but were themselves virtually independent and unrestrained, so that feudal anarchy ensued. The peasants suffered severely; churches were burned; tortures were used frequently by the partizans to extort money. "I neither can nor may I tell," to adopt the words of a contemporary, "all the wounds and all the pains which they inflicted on wretched men in this land. This lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and it grew continually worse and worse." The common misery tended to fuse the people together, as in the general anarchy Norman and English fought and suffered side by side. The Church, too, became more independent and monasteries were multiplied, one hundred and fifteen being founded during the reign of Stephen; many persons sought in these the peace that they could not find elsewhere.

Stephen, 1135-1154

Godfrey died, and his son Henry took up the war for Matilda's rights. The death of Stephen's heir led to a compromise by which it was agreed in 1153 that Henry should succeed when Stephen died; and this happened a year later. The new king, Henry II, was only twenty-one years of age, but he was already experienced both in warfare and in government. He made a deep impression upon his subjects as well as upon the history of England. His personal appearance, his habits, his virtues and vices, were so fully recorded by his contemporaries that he is better known to us than any one of the other medieval kings of England. Through all the contradictory statements that serve to bring out the many sides of his character, we get the impression of a man of tireless energy, determined to maintain order and to have his own way; not a very lovable nor a very pious individual, but one who commanded and still commands respect for the work that he did. It is important to remember that he could give only a part of his time to England; for he had inherited from his parents Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. With his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, he secured Poitou, Guienne, and

Henry, 1154-1189

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Gascony. By his own efforts he obtained the overlordship of Brittany and Ireland, and claimed that of Scotland and Wales. Small wonder that he could spend in England only about twelve years of his reign of more than thirty-four, and that his longest stay was only about two and a half years. He was French, not English, and never spoke the English language; yet England is heavily in his debt for the many reforms he accomplished.

Reforms

In some of these reforms he was but reëstablishing the conditions under Henry I, whose charter of liberties he had taken as a model for his own grant. His first task, too, was to restore the good order of his grandfather's reign, who had "made peace for men and deer." The barons were compelled to give up their castles or else to destroy them; the armed bands of foreign mercenaries were ordered to leave the country, and, frightened, "they disappeared like phantoms"; the crown lands that had been alienated under Stephen were reclaimed and the royal revenues increased. The former treasurer, whom Stephen had dismissed, was reinstated. The central administration was reinstituted, much as it had been in the days of Henry I. The justiciar was the chief official, and in the king's absence acted as regent. The chancellor was responsible for the drawing up of all legal documents and kept the official records. The treasurer was the third of the great ministers. The hereditary offices of marshal, steward, chamberlain, and constable were held by great nobles, but they had little part in the duties of government, for the king preferred men of lower rank who would be less dangerous to him, and more devoted.

The great nobles, both lay and clerical, still met occasionally as the king's council. But this name had also begun to be applied to a very different body composed of the ministers who were constantly in the king's employ to attend to lawsuits and to administrative work. This smaller council, or *curia regis,* sat frequently to try suits between the barons or cases in which the king was concerned. Twice a year it sat to receive the accounts of the sheriffs and others who owed money to the king. The table around which it then sat was marked off into squares in order to facilitate the calculations, so that it resembled a checkerboard, and from this came the name exchequer. Each sheriff had to render an account of all the sums he had received or expended in the service of the king. All the business was recorded on broad pieces of parchment, which when rolled up were known as the pipe-roll. This custom had come down from the days of Henry I, one of whose pipe-rolls is still preserved. Beginning with the reign of Henry II, there is a continuous series down to

The Exchequer

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the nineteenth century, which contains an enormous mass of information about prices and customs. No other country has financial records for so long a period that are at all comparable with the pipe-rolls.

Justices in Eyre

Another feature of the administration that was borrowed from Henry I was the custom of sending out the justices in eyre. The king had no regular place of residence, and his ministers had to follow him wherever he went, when he was in England. Consequently men who were parties to lawsuits before the king's council had formerly been obliged to follow the court in its travels until the case was decided. This made it difficult to get at the truth because of the absence of local witnesses who alone knew the facts. To obviate this difficulty, the elder Henry had sent members of his council to try cases in the various shires of England. These ministers were also employed to collect dues and to attend to other business of the king. Henry II made great use of these justices in eyre, or on circuit, and systematized their work. How great a boon this was may be judged from the experience of Richard of Anesty, who in order to get a lawsuit settled had to follow the court for five years. This luckless suitor saw a large part of the king's dominions, both in England and on the continent, in his unwelcome journeyings. He was subject to many delays and expenses, for which he had to borrow from the Jews, so that when he won the suit he was heavily in debt. Other suitors were freed from a like fate by the judges' circuits.

Jury

Closely connected with the employment of the justices in eyre was the development of the jury. The judge had cognizance of all cases in which the king's interests were concerned, and also of the more heinous crimes, unless the latter had been committed on the fief of some lord who had the right of high and low justice. Henry extended this jurisdiction greatly, especially in the cases of disputed land titles. He did this to increase the income from his courts and also to restrict the power of the feudal barons. By the "great assize" any freeman might buy the right to have a dispute concerning his title to land decided in the king's court, even if a suit had been begun in a baronial or other court. The judges in such a case were empowered to summon men who would probably know the facts, and to compel them to give a verdict as to which party had the better right. Leading men in the locality, usually twelve in number, were called together for this purpose. This was so much more satisfactory than the older methods of compurgation, ordeal, or wager of battle, that it was extended to other than land cases. The assize of Claren-

don, 1166, was issued mainly for the purpose of preventing crime, and in order to do this laid the foundation for the grand jury, or jury of indictment. Up to this time many crimes of violence had gone unpunished because there was no one except the injured party or his friends whose duty it was to bring the criminal to trial. If the latter was a powerful man those injured often feared to accuse him, lest a worse fate might befall them. By this assize Henry made it the duty of the itinerant justices and sheriffs to call together twelve men from each hundred and four from each vill, and to put them upon oath to say "whether there is in their hundred or in their vill any man who has been accused or publicly suspected of himself being a robber, or murderer, or thief, or of being a receiver of robbers, or murderers, or thieves, since the lord king has been king." The accused was required to undergo the ordeal of water. If he failed, he was punished; if he came out successfully he was banished if he was "of very bad testimony and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and legal men." By this assize the feudal courts were restricted in their right of criminal justice, because those indicted by the jurors could be tried only by the king's court. In the thirteenth century the use of ordeals was prohibited and the question of guilt had to be determined otherwise. This was usually done by compelling the accused to have his guilt decided by the verdict of the grand jury, or eventually by a number of its members, usually twelve, who came to be called the trial or petit jury.

Sheriffs

The employment of the itinerant justices for such a large variety of work took much power from the sheriffs. When Henry became king these officials had been great lords, who were extremely powerful, both through the fiefs that they held and through the authority delegated to them by the king. Sometimes one had two shires under his jurisdiction, which included the collection of the revenues due to the king, holding the county courts, and raising military levies. At first the justices and the sheriffs had some duties in common, although the former were directed to watch the latter and to take from their jurisdiction special cases that concerned the king. By the assize of Clarendon, as already noted, the sheriffs concurrently with the justices had the duty of making inquests concerning criminals. Apparently many of the sheriffs abused this opportunity and aroused general resentment by their tyranny; for in 1170 Henry ordered an inquest of their acts, and as a result of the reports that were made he degraded all from office; of the twenty-two who were dismissed only seven were reinstated, and of these

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seven all but two were members of the king's household. Even after this it is evident that there were still dangerous possibilities in the office, as more power was gradually shorn from it, until by Magna Carta the sheriffs were left with only comparatively slight authority.

Military Reforms

One means by which their power was lessened was by Henry's military reforms, especially the assize of arms in 1181, by which every free layman was required to have arms appropriate to his status and means, and to be ready to serve. The execution of this assize was assigned to the justices and not to the sheriffs. By this assize Henry sought to obtain a national army for service in England. For his many foreign wars he did not use the feudal levies to any great extent, preferring to collect a fine, called scutage, in place of the service due from vassals, and with the money thus obtained he hired foreign mercenaries. This gave him a much more serviceable army.

Conflict with Church

In his reforms of the courts Henry came into conflict with the Church. This had become much more independent during the anarchy under Stephen. In particular, its courts had become more powerful and claimed jurisdiction over many classes of cases. These included all in which clerks or Church property were concerned; all matters of faith; all suits depending upon questions of marriage, wills, and inheritances; and all that were caused by the breach of an oath. If pushed to the logical extreme these categories would include a very large proportion of all suits, and thus would seriously lessen the income that the king received from court fines. Moreover, the Church courts were popular because the penalties imposed were lighter and did not include death or mutilation — common punishments in the lay courts. All who could sought to have their cases tried in the clerical courts. Many could claim membership in the clergy; in addition to the bishops, priests, deacons, monks, and nuns, it included all officials and servants of the Church, all students, and all crusaders. In such a numerous and heterogeneous body there were some criminals. In the first eight or nine years of his reign Henry found that one hundred murders had been committed by clerks, who had received only very light punishments in the ecclesiastical courts. He determined to check this abuse, and in doing so came into conflict with the Church, and especially with Thomas Becket.

Becket

Thomas was the son of a wealthy London merchant of Norman birth. After schooling in both London and Paris he had entered a London office, and there had attracted the attention of the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered him a position. "There was

none dearer to the archbishop than he," writes a contemporary, for "he had a singular gift of winning affection." The archbishop was interested in canon law, and sent Thomas to Bologna and Auxerre to master this subject. Later Becket was sent to Rome on a diplomatic mission, and then was made archdeacon of Canterbury. It is well to remember that an archdeacon was so occupied with secular duties that some strict churchmen doubted whether any archdeacon could be saved. When Henry became king the archbishop recommended Thomas, and he was made chancellor. Henry was then twenty-two, Thomas thirty-eight; and the latter soon endeared himself to the king, so that the two became almost inseparable companions. Both were fond of hunting, hawking, and chess, but both were keen men of business. Thomas received many gifts from Henry, and one of his friends praised him because "he magnanimously disdained to take the poorer benefices and required only the greater things."

Becket was noted for his luxury in dress and food, and kept a splendid household where the king's son and many young nobles were trained to chivalry. As chancellor he had fifty-two clerks in his employ. For more than seven years he served the king faithfully, enforcing royal rights, when necessary, against ecclesiastical claims. Naturally, when the archbishopric became vacant, the king wished to make his favorite archbishop as well as chancellor; by this appointment he hoped to avert all trouble with the Church and to have the two powers work in harmony for the good of the government. Thomas, who always threw himself with his whole heart into anything that he undertook, saw more clearly. He said, "whoever is made archbishop must soon give offense either to God or to the king." But Henry could not be checked, and Thomas was duly elected by the monks. One day he was ordained priest, the next he was consecrated as archbishop. He very soon resigned the chancellorship, much against Henry's will, so that he might "have leisure for prayers and to attend to the Church's affairs." He gave up his luxurious dress and wore a hair shirt daily; he visited the sick and washed the feet of beggars. "As he had been accustomed to preëminence in worldly glory, he now determined to be first in holy living."

Henry felt deeply disappointed at Thomas's conduct, and causes of difference between the two soon arose. This came to a head, at a council in 1164, on the question of "criminous clerks." Henry demanded that clerks who were guilty of heinous crimes should be degraded by the bishops' courts and handed over to the secular courts for punishment. Thomas refused, asserting that the members of the clergy were not to be judged by any lay

The Quarrel

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authority. When asked whether he would obey the customs (i. e., the laws of the land), he answered: "Yes, saving our order." The bishops present made the same reply. Henry demanded that Thomas should retract his words, and when Thomas refused left in anger. Many of the influential clergy feared a breach with the king, and pressure was brought upon Thomas, who finally consented to swear obedience to "the customs of the kingdom." Henry seized upon this admission, and summoned the council of Clarendon. When Thomas, having repented, refused to take the oath, Henry "was as a madman in the eyes of those who stood by." All besought Thomas to yield, fearing the king's wrath; and finally, "in fear of death," he said: "I am ready to keep the customs of the kingdom." Henry ordered that these should be written out, so that there might be no question in the future concerning them, and "the wise men" drew up the Constitutions of Clarendon. When these were read to Thomas and he was asked to set his seal to them, he replied: "Never, while there is breath left in my body!"

Constitutions of Clarendon

For these Constitutions greatly restricted the jurisdiction and independence of the Church. Many cases that concerned clerks were to be tried in the king's courts; no tenant in chief was to be excommunicated without previous notice to the king; no appeals to the pope were to be allowed; no bishop was to leave the realm without permission of the king; in particular, criminous clerks, when convicted, were no longer to be protected by the Church, but were to be punished by the royal courts. If these "customs" were accepted the Church would lose almost everything that it had gained since the Conquest.

Exile of Thomas

Thomas was unwilling to make this surrender. Henry tried to force him, and finally Thomas, fearing for his life, fled to France to seek the support of the pope and of the French king. Henry confiscated his property, banished his friends, and in turn sought the pope's aid. The latter, Alexander III, was in exile and was struggling against an anti-pope whom the emperor supported; consequently he hesitated to alienate Henry, and temporized. Thomas threatened to excommunicate both the king and his adherents; the latter included most of the English bishops. After several years Henry felt compelled by circumstances to make peace with Thomas and to allow him to return to England.

The archbishop was more firmly resolved than ever to maintain all the prerogatives of his see and to insist upon the freedom of the Church; consequently he excommunicated bishops who had sided with the king and laymen who had occupied the lands of Canterbury; and he did this, in spite of the Constitutions of

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Clarendon, without consulting the king. News of these acts was sent to Henry, who was still in France, and his wrath knew no bounds. He uttered rash words, which were seized upon by four of his knights as authority for action. They crossed to England, hastened to Canterbury, and murdered the archbishop in the very cathedral itself.

Death of Thomas

His death as a martyr secured victory for Thomas. Henry undoubtedly realized this, and also was genuinely grieved at the result of his outburst of passion. For days he shut himself up, fasting and alone. He took oath that he was innocent of the murder, and a year later made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where he submitted himself to a public penance and scourging which was so severe that he fell ill. He also withdrew some of the Constitutions, although he tried to carry out his policy by other means. Yet the popularity of St. Thomas did much to increase the unpopularity of the king. The shrine at Canterbury was the goal of thousands who nourished feelings of bitter indignation against the monarch whom they considered the murderer of the saint. The nobles took advantage of this feeling and a great revolt broke out; but this was sternly repressed by Henry. The Scottish king, who had aided the rebels, was captured, and had to do homage for his kingdom. A little later Henry also received the homage of several chieftains in Ireland. While successful in these respects, he had to struggle against rebellions in his continental dominions, in which his sons took part as allies of the French king. In 1189 he was forced to make peace with them, and died broken-hearted, moaning, "Shame on a conquered king!"

Revolt against Henry

Work of Henry

Yet his work lived after him. The government he had established continued to function during the reign of Richard, who was absent from England for all but a few months of his reign of ten years, and during the first part of the rule of John. The good order that Henry had maintained, the justice he had established, the fusion he had brought about by his stern rule, made the English nation strong, rich, and united.

John's weakness and vices caused changes of great moment to England. First of these was the loss of Normandy and of most of the other continental possessions of the Angevins. John placed himself in the wrong by marrying Isabelle of Angoulême, who was betrothed to one of his own vassals. This excited a rebellion, and Philip Augustus intervened as John's overlord to whom John's vassals had appealed. John refused to obey Philip's summons to appear at Paris and answer the charges against him. Accordingly, Philip made war upon him, and recognized Arthur

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as heir to the Angevin possessions, with the exception of Normandy. Arthur was the son of John's early lost older brother Godfrey, and already had some partizans. Philip now made use of him against John, but the boy was soon captured and murdered. This and other brutal acts alienated the nobles in Normandy and Aquitaine; and, as John showed little energy or ability in fighting for his rights, all of his possessions in France, except Gascony and a part of Poitu, fell, in 1204, under the power of Philip.

Loss of French Possessions

The following year the archbishop of Canterbury died, and the choice of a successor caused a contest that did much to weaken John's power in England. The monks of Canterbury had the right of election, and some of them chose their sub-prior and sent him to Rome to seek confirmation from the pope. In the meantime John caused one of his followers to be elected by the monks and sent him also to Rome to seek the pope's support. Innocent III refused to accept either candidate, and had Stephen Langton elected. John refused to receive him as archbishop, and seized rich estates of Canterbury for his own use. The pope then laid England under an interdict. John threatened to exile the clergy and to confiscate their lands; he actually did the latter, and all but two of the bishops fled from the kingdom. Curiously enough, the interdict seems to have had comparatively little effect, and the common people apparently sided with the king. Possibly this was due to the fact that the interdict was not so rigorously enforced as some earlier ones had been; possibly the people were influenced because their financial burdens were lessened temporarily, as John got large sums from the ecclesiastical estates and did not have to raise as much from the people. It must be remembered that many towns had received charters from the kings and were well disposed toward them.[3] But John was disliked by many of the nobles, so that when Innocent excommunicated him in 1209 he was in a difficult position. He acted with unusual energy and at times with great brutality, which made him bitterly hated. He also found it necessary now to increase the taxation in various ways, and this made him generally unpopular. By 1212 rebellion was rife. In 1213 Philip Augustus, at the suggestion of the pope, was preparing to invade England. John decided that he must yield, and in May he made his peace with Innocent, received Langton, and became a vassal of the pope.

Struggle with Innocent III

By this submission John escaped the most pressing dangers, and for a time his fortunes seemed promising. He made an

[3] See Chapter XXIX.

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alliance with the emperor Otto of Germany and some rebel French barons against Philip. But the war against France was unpopular in England, and few trusted John. An unwise appointment to the justiciarship brought the discontent to a head. Stephen Langton was recognized as the leader of the barons, and proposed that they should work for the liberties contained in the charter of Henry I. They were greatly aided by the decisive victory that Philip won at Bouvines in 1214, when he defeated Otto and the rebel barons, and thus John was left without allies.

Battle of Bouvines, 1214

The barons seized the opportunity, and presented to the king a statement of their grievances and of their demands. John, in great anger, rejected it. Then the barons and some of the citizens of London revolted against him. John was compelled to yield, and in June, 1215, signed the Magna Carta. This was destined to be a great landmark in the development of English liberties, and by later generations much was read into the Charter which was not present at all in the minds of the barons who extorted it from the king. It was a feudal document and is mainly concerned with defining feudal customs so as to prevent extortion and injustice on the part of the king. The first clause confirmed the freedom of the Church, and there were some grants of rights, generally rather indefinite, to cities, merchants, and free men; but the great mass of provisions concerned only the barons and the king's conduct toward them. Yet the Charter is very important because it was extorted from the king and served as a precedent for other restrictions on his power. Moreover, it contained several general clauses that could, in later centuries, be interpreted very definitely and very differently from what the barons had intended, so that these clauses could be cited as precedents for the maintenance of the liberties of the English people. In fact, the Charter was important, in the thirteenth century, becaused it furnished a program to the feudal nobles for restricting the despotic government of the king; in the seventeenth century and later, as a venerable document, into which might be read the aspirations of a later age for the good government and the just treatment of the nation that had become the political heir of the barons who had forced John to grant them their rights. Consequently, the articles that the barons and the king considered most important, such as the restrictions upon levying feudal aids, scutages, and reliefs, were lost sight of in the later ages.

Magna Carta

At the time these were all important, and the king was compelled to agree to the election of twenty-five barons who should see that he did justice and in case of need should make war upon

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War against John

him to compel him to redress grievances. Of course, John had no intention of keeping such a compact, and asked Innocent to annul it. The pope did so. As the barons continued rebellious, Innocent preached a crusade in favor of John, who had taken the cross and was expected by him to lead a new crusade. French knights were urged to obtain remission of their sins by fighting against the barons, who were preventing John from going on a crusade. At the same time, Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, was in treaty with the barons and hoped to obtain the English crown. He landed with an army, and was joined by most of the barons; but when John died, a few weeks later, many rallied to the support of his nine-year-old son Henry. Innocent had died, but the new pope took the side of Henry and sent a legate who, in turn, preached a crusade against Louis. In 1217 the latter had to make peace and leave England.

During the minority of Henry, England was ruled by a regent, and the Charter was twice confirmed, although with the omission of some clauses that restricted the power of the king. When Henry came of age he surrounded himself with foreign favorites and rewarded them with English offices and wealth. He was subservient to the popes, who constantly demanded money and used English ecclesiastical positions to reward their Italian favorites. The amounts that the popes received from England were very large, and excited the animosity of the English clergy. Henry, too, required vast sums for his foreign enterprises. Thrice he led expeditions to war on France. He attempted to secure the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, spent much English money in securing his election as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. All of this made Henry very unpopular. Moreover, he proved untrustworthy, taking oaths only to break them.

Misrule of Henry III. 1216-1272

His constant need of money forced Henry to summon almost every year the great council — or the parliament, to give it the new name by which it was gradually coming to be known. Frequently there were disputes, usually about money, between the members and the king. The dissatisfaction was general when, in 1258, after a famine and an unsuccessful war against the Welsh, Henry attempted to raise money for a Sicilian expedition to seat his son on the throne of the Hohenstaufens. Then the barons demanded that the government should be reformed, foreigners sent home, and a council of twenty-four appointed to advise the king. A second meeting the same year, called "the Mad Parliament," drew up the so-called Provisions of Oxford, by which these arrangements should be carried out and the government

Provisions of Oxford

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administered by a permanent council chosen by a committee from the twenty-four barons already named. For a few years this council governed England.

Simon de Montfort

The leading man in the council was Simon de Montfort, the son of the leader of the crusade against the Albigensians[4] and the grandson of an English heiress. Like so many other foreigners, he had gone to England to seek his fortune, and had won the favor of the king. He was given the earldom of Leicester, to which he had a claim through his grandmother, and he married the king's sister, much to the indignation of the native English nobles. He quarreled with the king and went on a crusade. On his return he and the king were reconciled and he was made governor of Gascony. There he was accused of bad government and was formally tried. Although he was acquitted and allowed to continue in office, he was thwarted and finally superseded by the king's orders, so that after serving Henry for a quarter of a century he was forced into opposition and became the leader of the native nobles. When Henry induced the pope to declare the Provisions of Oxford annulled, war was imminent between the king and the barons led by Montfort, but both parties agreed to submit their cause to Louis IX of France. He decided against the barons, and Simon at once resorted to arms. In the battle of Lewes, 1264, he won a victory and captured Henry, in whose name he carried on the government for about a year.

He was not unopposed; but the foreigners who had been expelled attempted an invasion, and this strengthened his cause. In order to make his position more secure and more legitimate, Montfort summoned a parliament in 1265. To this he called only his partizans, and, as his strength consisted partly in the support of the knights and burgesses, he included, besides the barons and clergy, two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough. Knights of the shire had occasionally been summoned before, but this was the first time that representatives of the boroughs sat in parliament. This precedent was to be followed by Edward I, especially in his "Model Parliament." It was an indication of the change that was gradually making the citizens an important factor in political life.

Simon de Montfort's Parliament

Simon de Montfort was slain in battle the same year. His death and a general weariness of the long strife broke down the opposition to Henry, who was more cautious in his actions and had less need of money. His last years were comparatively quiet, and his heir, Edward, felt that it was safe to go on a

Last Years of Henry

[4] See Chapter XXX.

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crusade, leaving England to regret his absence rather than his presence.

During the period from 1087 to 1272 civil wars had been frequent in England, and the kings spent much of their effort in foreign expeditions. Yet the period had not been a disastrous one for the people, who had made great progress. The life on the manors, the rise of towns, the development of architecture, the growth of universities, will be discussed elsewhere. Here it is necessary only to note the great wealth of England and its importance for the third estate. Grain and wool were the most important products; the former was consumed at home, the latter, mainly exported. In addition, trade had been fostered by the connection with the Continent and the acquisition of new tastes for foreign wares. The merchants profited; they were granted privileges by the monarchs who needed their money. Their importance increased, and from this time on the third estate will be a recognized power in the political life of England.

Rise of Third Estate

At the beginning of the period the king was virtually a foreign despot; at the close, his power was limited by the growth of law and by the necessity of consulting parliament whenever he needed any unusual grant of money. And these were very real checks upon the king. Moreover, the despotism of Henry II, the misrule of John, the weakness and favoritism of Henry III, had welded all classes together to a greater degree than in any other country in Europe. The loss of most of the continental possessions had restricted the interests of the barons, and the preference shown to foreigners by Henry III had consolidated the feeling of nationalism, so that in England, by the close of his reign, all the people felt themselves to be, and were, Englishmen. English poems were being written and English songs sung. Although French was still spoken at court and by the upper classes, English was the language of the great mass of the people, and was steadily gaining ground.

Growth of National Unity

This feeling of national unity had been increased by the exactions of the popes, who had drained great sums from the country, much against the people's will. Taking advantage of the king's liking for foreigners and his complaisance toward the demands of the Church, the pope, in the reign of Henry III, had appointed many Italians to rich English benefices. This was resented by the monks and the lower orders of the clergy, as well as by the people, who felt that they were being exploited to meet the demands of rapacious foreigners. Simon de Montfort had won support by a program to reform the Church as well as the state.

The Church's censures had fallen somewhat into disrepute, and public opinion in England was gradually taking shape, so that Edward I would find general support in his struggle with the papacy.

CHAPTER XXIII

FRANCE, 1108–1270

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Small Beginnings

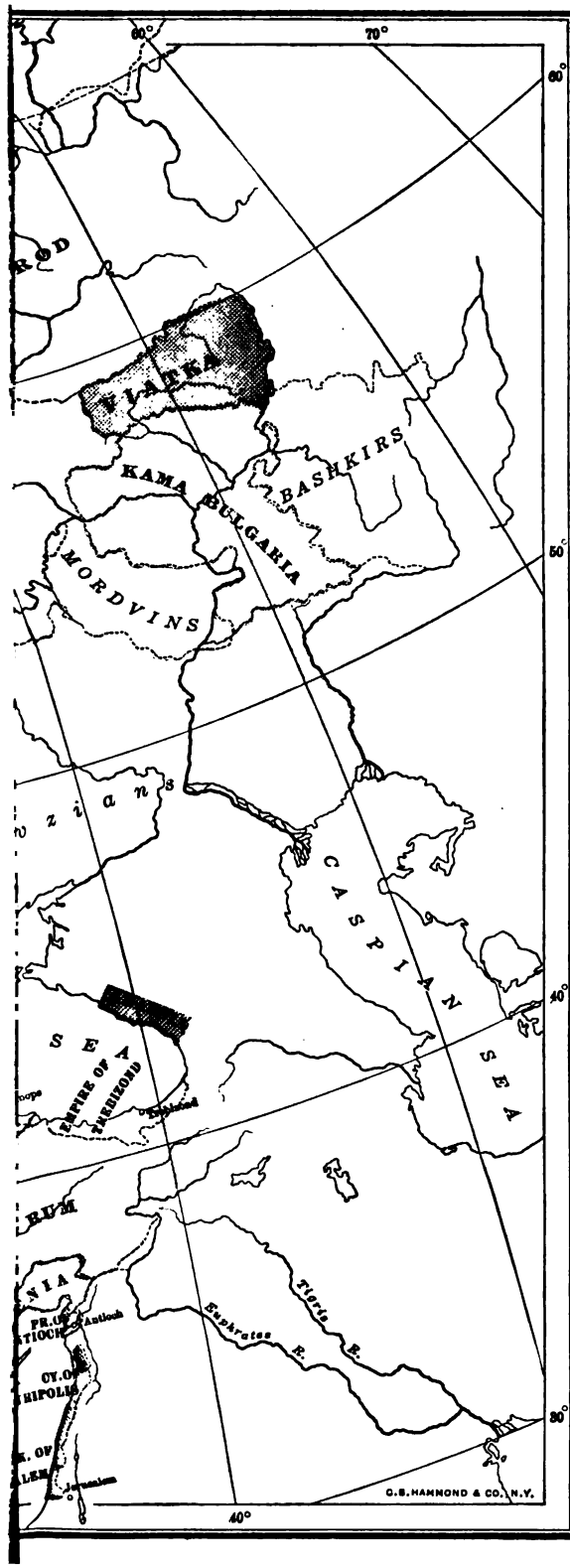
AT the beginning of the twelfth century the king of France had very little power; and what he had was limited almost entirely to the country about Paris and about Orléans with the territory between. Even within this small extent his power was by no means undisputed. He had to build the Grand Châtelet to protect the plain of St. Denis against one unruly vassal, the Montmorency. Another vassal who held Montlhéry was, as we have seen, a constant thorn in the flesh. A third, Thomas de Marle, was so dangerous a tyrant that the papal legate organized a crusade against him, which checked him only for the moment. When the conditions in the king's own territory were such, it is natural that he should have been able to exercise very little authority in other parts of the kingdom, particularly as several of the dukes and counts held fiefs both stronger and more extensive than his own domains.

Development of Great Fiefs

This was a result of the evolution that had been taking place in French feudalism. In place of many petty fiefs loosely bound together, such as had existed in the tenth century, a comparatively few great territorial powers had been formed — e. g., Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, Burgundy, Aquitaine. In each of these the chief lord, a duke or a count, was intent upon consolidating his power by reducing rebellious vassals and by keeping the peace. These tasks were made easier because the first crusade had attracted many of the unruly classes to expend their energies in the East. The truce of God, abortive as it proved, had also helped somewhat. Consequently, France was gradually being divided into large states possessing a common dialect and a certain sense of unity. Except in a few of the strongest and most advantageously situated fiefs, the movement had begun at the opening of the twelfth century, but it was destined to be one of the most noteworthy features of the immediate future.

Consolidation of Domain

Naturally, the king attempted to bring about this same unity in his own lands. Here, as elsewhere, the two great necessities were the restraint of turbulent vassals and the establishment of peace, and the two tasks were closely connected. Louis was indefatigable. In spite of his corpulence, which caused him to be


60°
70°
80°
50°
40°
30°
VIATKA
KAMA BULGARIA
BASHKIRS
MORDVINS
CASPIAN SEA
SEA
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
Trebizond
RUM
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Antioch
Jerusalem
C.S.HAMMOND & CO. N.Y.

called "Louis the Fat," he was ever ready for feats of arms and always in the forefront of an attack. In fact, the nicknames "Wideawake" and "Fighter" represent more accurately his subjects' estimate of him. Frequently he was called upon to protect some monastery or town from the depredations of his unruly vassals, and he was never called upon in vain. He would drive off the oppressor and burn his castle. In these petty wars he had the support of the clergy and the fighting men from the towns. For his subjects felt, in the words of Suger, his biographer, that "he studied the peace and comfort of plowmen, laborers, and poor folks, a thing long unwonted." He chose for his officials men of humble birth and especially members of the clergy; of these the chief was Suger, of whom more anon. Although it was a difficult task, he finally succeeded in putting down disorder and in making his power effective in his own domain.

He also attempted to increase the royal prestige throughout the kingdom, and, in spite of some failures, he actually did succeed. The greatest danger to the royal power arose from the union of Normandy, a French fief, with England. Louis tried to check Henry I by supporting a pretender in Normandy; but he was no match for the English king, with whom he waged war for almost a quarter of a century. He was freed from this danger only by the death of Henry and by the civil war that followed in England. In other fiefs he was more fortunate in his rare attempts to assert his power as suzerain. When Henry V of Germany threatened an invasion of France, almost all of the great lords in the north rallied to its defense and placed themselves temporarily under the king's orders. This was the first occasion in many a decade when a French king had been so clearly recognized as the national leader. Probably it was the prestige then won, as well as his own experience of Louis' strength, that led William of Aquitaine to choose Louis' son as the husband of his heiress Eleanor. This happened just before the king's death in 1137, so that he was not able to enjoy the new strength and prestige that ensued for the monarchy from the addition of this duchy.

Growth of Prestige

His successor, Louis VII, has frequently been represented as weak and over-pious, so that his reign was a long calamity for France. This has been due to too hasty generalization, for in his early years Louis was ambitious, energetic, rash, and certainly not over-pious. He was only sixteen and was passionately in love with his young bride. She had been educated to have little respect for the clergy and to take joy in living this life as a good

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thing in itself. This was one of the new ideas that were to dominate much of the thought of the twelfth century, and Eleanor by her training and position was one of its foremost exponents. Under her influence Louis braved the pope and a feudal coalition. He was successful in fighting, but was placed under an interdict, so that he finally had to make terms. In other respects he was successful, and he was able to acquire some fortresses on the Norman frontier which his father had long coveted. The first eight years of his reign were fortunate ones, in spite of the interdict, and gave promise of a strong and successful government.

Early Years of Louis VII

Second Crusade

All of this was lost by the second crusade. On Christmas day, 1145, Louis announced to his barons that he had decided to take the cross to aid the crusaders, who had been weakened by the loss of Edessa. At first the news was received with little enthusiasm. But when in the following year Bernard of Clairvaux lent his powerful voice there was a rush to take the cross. He wrote to the pope: "I have opened my mouth, I have spoken, and at once the crusaders have been an infinite multitude. Villages and towns are deserted. You would scarcely find one man among seven women. Everywhere are widows whose husbands are still living." Unfortunately for Louis, these statements were not accurate; many women went on the crusade. Foremost of all was Eleanor, who had burned with zeal for adventure and from whom Louis had been unwilling to be parted. On the crusade they became bitterly estranged. At Antioch Eleanor compromised herself with her uncle, who was the prince of that city, and when Louis wished to proceed to Jerusalem refused to accompany him, alleging that she could no longer be his wife because they were related within the forbidden degrees. Louis forced her to accompany him, but from that time the hostility between them increased. The ill success of the crusade caused for Louis a great loss of prestige.

Suger

Fortunately, the kingdom was well administered during his absence by Suger. This man was of peasant origin and had been educated at the monastery of St. Denis with Louis VII; and the two, as boys, had become friends. He had risen by his ability to the position of abbot, and as St. Denis was one of the leading monasteries he had great power and wealth. He showed himself to be an able administrator, increasing the resources of the abbey by his daring economic innovations, such as freeing his serfs and founding a *ville neuve*. He also did much to reconstruct and beautify the buildings, for he was an enthusiastic patron of art. In his habits he was but little given

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to the asceticism that was so characteristic of other leading monks of the age. His biographer said: "His food was neither coarse nor luxurious. . . . He tasted a little of everything that was served to him. . . . His bed was neither too hard nor too soft." The same golden mean was shown in his associations with men; he won the good will of all, reformers like Bernard of Clairvaux, courtiers of high rank, even notorious evil livers. Under Louis VI he had been one of the chief ministers. His influence was eclipsed for a time under Louis VII by the ascendancy of Eleanor, but when the king went on the crusade he left Suger as regent. All disorder was sternly suppressed; all the royal income was either sent to the king or saved for his return, as Suger paid the expenses of government out of his own income. In addition he busied himself in repairing and beautifying the royal residences at his own expense. He had been opposed to the crusade, but after its failure proposed to finance a new one out of his own funds. For, in spite of his vow of poverty as a monk, his remarkable business ability had secured to him as abbot an income that was almost incredible for that age. He died before he could begin the crusade.

Loss of Aquitaine

As long as he lived he prevented Louis from divorcing Eleanor, because he was determined that the king should not part with her dowry, Aquitaine. "But," as his biographer wrote, "scarcely was this man taken from the midst of the living before France suffered grievously from his death. Thus we see it to-day, through the lack of such a councilor, despoiled of the duchy of Aquitaine, one of its most important provinces." For Eleanor married Henry of Anjou about two months after her divorce from Louis, and he at once claimed Aquitaine. Louis formed a coalition against him, so that his position was very precarious. But the king no longer showed the energy that had marked his early years, and after two years of combat was glad to make peace, giving up the few conquests that he had made. A few months later Henry succeeded to the crown of England.

Louis and Henry

The French lands that Henry held were several times as extensive as those subject to the king, and Henry was an abler and stronger ruler than Louis. Consequently, for the ensuing quarter of a century the latter was constantly threatened, as Henry was intent upon rounding out his fiefs by annexing border-lands, and upon pressing his claims to Languedoc and Toulouse, which ran counter to the claims of his overlord, the French king. Henry's troubles with Thomas Becket checked him for a time. The revolt of his sons, encouraged by Louis, gave the French monarch an opportunity which he was too weak

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to use. Yet the net result of the indecisive wars was small. Henry did extend his rule, but Louis managed to keep almost all that he still had after the loss of Eleanor's dowry.

Development of the Royal Power

In some respects he did strengthen the royal power. He gave an asylum to Pope Alexander III when Frederic Barbarossa was supporting a rival, and thereby gained prestige, since Alexander was eventually recognized as the legitimate pope. He aided bishops and abbots when their feudal lords oppressed them, and he granted privileges to monasteries, in the south especially, which enabled the latter to become more independent of the temporal authority of the local lords. He had little real power to aid these distant monasteries, but the extent of the royal prestige is attested by the correspondence which they carried on with the king, seeking his support. The petty nobles sought to free themselves from their duties to the local lords by becoming liege men of the king. Louis gave charters to many cities, created *villes neuves,* and encouraged the formation of communes in episcopal cities, claiming that all such communes were under his own jurisdiction. He had become very pious, and was zealously supported by the clergy and common people, who in turn looked to him for support against the oppression of their feudal tyrants.

His first two wives had given birth only to daughters. One of these had been married to the oldest son of Henry II when the ages of the bride and groom together amounted to only nine years, and Henry trusted that his son might succeed to the throne of France. Great was Louis' joy, therefore, when his third wife bore him a son. In a charter the king recorded his gratitude to God and "how frightened he was at the number of his daughters and with what longing he and his people had desired the advent of a child belonging to a more noble sex."

Succession of Philip Augustus

The son was very different from his father. He was crowned king about a year before the latter's death, but Louis was already partially paralyzed and incapable of ruling. His wife and her four brothers, the archbishop of Reims, the count of Champagne, the count of Blois and Chartres, and the count of Sancerre, were managing the government. Philip was only fourteen, but he was determined to rule. He seized his mother's castles, and in order to get support married the niece of the count of Flanders, who gave Artois, a rich dowry, with the bride.

The count of Flanders had counted upon gaining power by this marriage, but he soon found that he had been duped, as Philip intended to be absolute and felt no gratitude. Consequently the count formed a coalition with the queen-mother and her brothers,

First Conquests

which threatened serious disaster to Philip. But after five years of intermittent strife he succeeded in crushing the coalition and extorted Vermandois from the count of Flanders as the price of peace. He was able to do this partly through the support of Henry II, who had befriended him. But no sooner was the victory won than he began to intrigue against Henry, supporting the rebellious sons. Henry tried to keep the peace, and even gave up some fortresses to Philip. But the latter was insatiable, even braving a threatened interdict, until he had aided Richard and John to defeat their father and the old king had died broken-hearted.

The interdict had been threatened by the Church because Philip, Henry, and Richard had all taken a vow to go on the crusade, and this war delayed the accomplishment of the vow. The need was urgent: Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin in 1187 and the Christians in the Holy Land were in desperate straits. After Henry's death Philip and Richard set out on the crusade.

Third Crusade

They soon became bitter enemies, and Philip, whose heart was not in the cause, started back as soon as Acre was taken, having spent only a little over three months in Syria. He was anxious to take advantage of the death of the count of Flanders, who had died at Acre, in order to add to his domain, and also he thought to profit by Richard's absence. The latter made Philip take an oath not to make any attack on his lands, but as he knew Philip intimately, he did not expect the oath to be kept.

In fact, as soon as Philip returned home he began to calumniate Richard, pretending to have left Syria for fear of being poisoned by him, and dwelling upon Richard's friendship with the infidel Saladin. He did not content himself with calumnies, but entered into an alliance with Henry VI of Germany and with John, Richard's brother, so that he might be the more free to attack him. Very apropos came the news of Richard's capture by the duke of Austria, as he was returning home from the crusade. Philip endeavored to have Henry VI, to whom the duke had been compelled to hand over Richard, keep him in prison. Meanwhile he attacked Richard's possessions. When Henry released Richard for a ransom of £100,000, Philip wrote to John: "Look out for yourself now; the devil is loose." Then ensued five years of warfare between the two kings, mainly waged by mercenaries, who were pitiless in their plundering. Richard had the greater wealth and could hire more men; and he won victory after victory, so that when a truce was finally made, in 1199, Philip had to give up almost all of his conquests. He was overjoyed when he learned, a few weeks later, of Richard's death.

War with Richard

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He at once espoused the cause of Arthur, John's nephew, and war soon broke out again. But it lasted only about a year, after which a peace was made, favorable to Philip and securing for him some additional territory, but not as much as he had hoped to gain. For he had been obliged to make peace because of a new danger. France had been placed under an interdict early in the year 1200, and his subjects were murmuring. The cause of the laying of the interdict was Philip's treatment of his wife, Ingeborg. She was a young Danish princess whom Philip had married in 1193. He had met and married her the same day, and had seemed delighted with her and her beauty. The following day at her coronation he showed great aversion for her, and soon wanted to send her back to Denmark. The reasons for his change are entirely unknown; some contemporaries attributed it to magic. Ingeborg's conduct was irreproachable, and Philip never gave any explanation, although he attributed the fault to her. He secured a divorce from his bishops on a false statement of consanguinity. Ingeborg appealed to Rome. The pope was a man of little strength of character, and, although he protested feebly against the divorce, he took no decided action. After three years, during which Ingeborg, who refused to go home, was kept in confinement, Philip married Agnes of Meran. When Innocent III became pope he took up Ingeborg's defense. As Philip refused to send Agnes away and to take back Ingeborg, Innocent ordered an interdict to be laid upon France. It was a particularly severe one, and although many of the bishops, and even of the monks, refused to observe it, it was a very great hardship for the people. After about eight months Philip made a show of yielding, and was publicly reconciled with Ingeborg; but he did not take her back as his wife and still kept Agnes. The affair dragged on. Innocent threatened; Philip demanded that he and Ingeborg should be divorced by the pope; nothing was done, and Ingeborg remained a prisoner. But Philip had been freed from the interdict and was able to work at his other plans.

Interdict in 1200

Foremost among these was the conquest of the French lands held by John. And the latter played into Philip's hands by alienating his own vassals both in England and France, so that when the storm broke in the latter country he could not count upon active support from the former. As a result he lost most of his French possessions.[1] But Philip was not content with this victory. Since the beginning of his war with Richard he had nourished the idea of an invasion of England. It was

Philip and John

[1] See preceding chapter.

to get the support of a Danish fleet for this purpose that he had married Ingeborg; and it was when the project again seemed feasible that she was finally reinstated as his queen, if not as his wife. For in 1213, when John was struggling with Innocent, Philip thought the opportunity for his invasion had come, and in order to secure Innocent's favor submitted to his will by taking back Ingeborg, after twenty years of injury and imprisonment. He was the more ready to do this because Agnes had been dead for a dozen years and he had found no one who was willing to give him his daughter in marriage while the cause of Ingeborg was still unsettled. It is pleasant to know that the blameless queen lived a quarter of a century longer and received fitting honor not only from Philip, but also from his son and grandson. By the reconciliation with Ingeborg Philip secured the pope's favor, and was preparing by his orders to lead a crusade against England when he learned that he had been duped by Innocent, who had used him in order to force John to submission.

Only one of the vassals had refused to furnish aid to Philip for the invasion of England; this was the count of Flanders. Flanders had long been favorable to the Angevin kings, as it had close associations with England, from which it received the wool for its manufactures of cloth. Now Philip determined to punish the count, and in doing so provoked a strife which exposed him to the greatest peril. For the count allied himself with England, and the lords of Lorraine and Holland and Otto of Germany soon joined in the coalition against Philip. The plan was to attack him in the north and in the southwest at the same time. John hoped to regain his lost possessions, and was prodigal of English money to buy support. He landed at La Rochelle in the middle of February, 1214, and at first had great success, as the nobles of Aquitaine renewed their allegiance to him and many castles opened their gates without contest. But in July his army fled before the smaller host of Philip's son Louis, whom he had left to check John while he himself hastened to meet the enemy in the north. John did not recover from this rout. Later in the month Philip fought the emperor Otto and his allies at Bouvines, and won a signal victory, capturing the most prominent of his rebellious barons, including the count of Flanders. This battle crushed all John's hopes and made Philip stronger than ever before.

Battle of Bouvines, 1214

In addition to the conquests that he had made, Philip had added largely to his feudal holdings by skilful diplomacy. The prestige of the crown had become so great that less powerful lords in many parts of France sought to place themselves di-

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rectly under the suzerainty of the king, and even the great peers sought his confirmation of their charters. Before his death in 1223, Philip Augustus not only had a greater extent of territory but also more actual authority than any one of his vassals. By crushing the coalition in 1214 he had made himself the real power in France. He favored the clergy, but kept them under his control and checked the tendency of the ecclesiastical courts to extend their power. He insisted that they must be subordinate to the royal courts in all matters where the two jurisdictions conflicted, and in some parts of his kingdom took from them all interference in matters of feudal law. He favored the citizens, and founded communes by which his royal income might be increased. He employed the burgesses as his officials to a greater extent than the preceding French monarchs had done, and when he went on the crusade intrusted to six burgesses of Paris the charge of the royal treasure and great seal. In many other ways he favored Paris and its merchants. He also protected foreign merchants in France, even in times of war. He followed this policy partly to check the feudal nobles who might be dangerous, but mainly to add to his income. In order to maintain a standing army of mercenaries, he allowed the cities to pay money in place of the military service that they owed. His greatest innovation was the appointment of *baillis*. Before his reign the various parts of the kingdom had been under the immediate control of *prévôts*, local nobles usually, who used their office to exploit both king and people. In order to check their exactions, Philip appointed *baillis*, who had virtually the same duties as the itinerant justices in England. They were frequently transferred from one part of the country to another, and had to report three times each year to the king's court at Paris. As far as possible the king kept a close watch upon them and checked any injustice. In the newly acquired territories he did not introduce his *baillis* at once, but in the period of transition employed local nobles who bore the title of *sénéchal*. By these various measures Philip increased the royal income, obtained the favor of the third estate, and checked the power of nobility and clergy.

Increase of Royal Power

Through the Albigensian crusade[2] the French kings were able to add Languedoc to the royal domain. Louis VIII (1223-1226) son of Philip Augustus, took part in the crusade under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. When Simon's son Amaury was unable to hold the county, he made over his claim to Louis. The latter died too soon to secure possession, but in 1229 Raymond of Toulouse found himself unable to keep up the

[2] See Chapter XXX.

strife any longer and made his peace by resigning part of his territory to the king, becoming a vassal for the remainder, and betrothing his heiress to a brother of the king. From this time all Languedoc was a part of the kingdom. All Aquitaine was secured later, partly by a triumphal expedition of Louis VIII, but finally by the success of Louis IX over Henry III of England, who, after trying to win back the territory that John had lost, had to surrender the part of Poitou that was still under the English sovereignty.

Acquisition of Languedoc and Aquitaine

Louis VIII, who had been a faithful aid to his father and had shown real ability, lived only three years and then was succeeded by Louis IX, a boy of twelve. The great feudal nobles who had been repressed by his grandfather and father hoped to achieve their independence in the reign of a child, whose mother, Blanche of Castile, was a foreigner and much disliked. One coalition after another was formed. The basest calumnies were spread broadcast concerning the queen. But Blanche was a very able woman and had the hearty support of the mass of the clergy and of the townspeople. She succeeded in crushing all the coalitions, although they included most of the great lords in the north and were supported by the English. Fortunately for Louis, the weakness of the English regents, and later of Henry III himself, prevented this aid from being efficacious; and the feudal lords had been so weakened by the policy of Philip Augustus that they did not have either the strength or the influence that their predecessors had enjoyed. Nothing could better mark the growth of the royal power than the weakness of those lords who had formerly held it in check.

Feudal Coalitions

His mother not only overcame all these coalitions and preserved the power for Louis IX, but she also educated him carefully so that he might rule effectively and wisely. He was brave, prudent, just, and religious. His real strength of character, his impetuousity in youth, his valor as a soldier, have been obscured to some extent by his reputation as a saint. For he was canonized shortly after his death, and in connection with the canonization were related many anecdotes stressing his humility, charity, and other Christian virtues. Fortunately, it is possible through the writings of his friend and companion, Joinville, to form a more correct judgment of the strongest monarch of his age. The latter admired the king, but did not hesitate to poke fun at him occasionally, and sometimes gave him sage advice. The biography written by such a friend gives a wonderfully lifelike picture of Louis: as a lover, stealing interviews with his bride while the attendants watched to warn the young couple of the approach

Character of Louis IX

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of the queen-mother; as a judge, seated at the foot of the oak in the forest of Vincennes, hearing any cases that might be brought to him; as a soldier, impetuously leaping into the sea in order to be the first in the fight at Damietta — all in all very human and very lovable.

Government of Louis

His ability, good sense, and moderation made him a successful ruler. He was anxious to act justly toward every one, and insisted that others also should do justice. He kept his vassals in order, repressing all evil deeds on their part as far as lay in his power. He continued and developed the methods that Philip Augustus had established. He revered the Church, and protected it whenever necessary. But he insisted upon the supremacy of the royal courts, and took certain classes of cases away from the ecclesiastical tribunals. He was not subservient to the Church when its claims came into conflict with the royal authority or when he thought that it was following a wrong policy. For so religious a ruler in the Middle Ages he was remarkably independent. And he did not take advantage of the weakness of the empire during the interregnum, nor of Henry III when the latter's subjects were in rebellion. In fact, he voluntarily, as victor, made a peace that was advantageous to the English king, in order to shun any cause for contest in the future. He won the respect of all his contemporaries and the love of his subjects. The latter was the easier to win because he had sufficient income for ordinary expenses, and had to resort to taxation only for special undertakings.

Crusades

Such were his two crusades. He was filled with religious zeal for the cause of the cross, and was anxious to check the advance of the Mongols. But he had no clear ideas as to conditions in the Orient, and his expeditions were failures. He first took the cross in 1244, in spite of the opposition of his mother, whose advice he usually heeded. After long preparation he set sail in 1248 for Cyprus, where he wintered; then he proceeded to Damietta, which he captured. Next he marched southward along the Nile, to capture Cairo. But the army only reached Mansurah, where a desperate battle was fought. The crusaders lost heavily and soon were obliged to retreat. Although very ill, Louis guarded the rear, and was captured. He agreed to pay an enormous ransom, and went to the Holy Land, where he spent four years, and then returned reluctantly to France in 1254. The losses had been so great and the failures so ignominious that all were discouraged except Louis, who never put aside his cross. But he was not able to arrange a second expedition until 1270. Then he was induced to go to Tunis instead of to Egypt or Syria. It is prob-

able that this was due to the influence of his brother Charles of Anjou, ruler of Sicily, who was in alliance with the sultan of Egypt and consequently diverted the crusade. Louis was led to believe that the ruler of Tunis was willing to become a Christian, and he was eager to become "the godfather of such a godson." Consequently the crusading fleet went to Tunis, where Louis was stricken with the plague and died.

France in 1270

At his death France was by far the strongest kingdom in Europe and the king's power was supreme. The feudal lords had been shorn of many of their prerogatives; the Church was firmly checked from encroachments on the royal authority; the cities were being fostered and were loyal. The country was rapidly becoming unified under the excellent administration of the king, and its inhabitants were proud to be known as Frenchmen. Local differences, which had long been so prominent, still persisted, and were destined to be vital factors for centuries; but there was also a feeling of patriotism and common nationality.

CHAPTER XXIV

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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THE period of the investiture struggle afforded an opportunity for the rise of men of ability, especially those who were good fighters. Both the popes and the emperors had constantly to secure recruits. When a vassal of the emperor went over to the enemy, his fief was declared forfeited and given to another. Of all the new men who became prominent during the period, the most interesting was Frederic of Büren. Little is known of him until he appeared as such a successful partizan of Henry IV that he was given the dukedom of Swabia and the emperor's young daughter Agnes as his bride. He rose steadily in favor and power, and was the founder of the Hohenstaufen family, which took its name from a favorite castle. After his death his sons, Frederic and Conrad, were the nearest heirs of Henry V, who died in 1125.

The Hohenstaufens

Frederic's election as Henry's successor seemed certain, for he was duke of Swabia, his brother Conrad was duke of Franconia, and his father-in-law was duke of Bavaria. Thus it seemed that he could count upon the votes from three of the four duchies. But the bishops and abbots who had been papal partizans were opposed to him on account of his support of his uncle, Henry V, and their fear that he would continue the policy of the latter. Also, the lesser nobles were opposed to any arrangement that would imply a right of hereditary succession. For these reasons, Lothair, duke of Saxony, might well command the support of both the papal partizans and the lesser nobles, as he had been the strongest adversary of Henry V and had stood for the greater independence of both the Church and the nobles.

Ten electors were chosen from each of the four duchies. There was some clever manœuvering by the archbishop of Mainz which forced Frederic into an unpopular position. Lothair won the support of Henry, duke of Bavaria, Frederic's father-in-law, by arranging the betrothal of his only daughter and heiress to Henry's son. Consequently Frederic lost and Lothair was elected king.

Election in 1125

Guelfs and Ghibellines

This election led to the long struggle between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. Lothair's daughter's fiancé was a Guelf. The

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Hohenstaufens became known as Ghibellines, from the Italian form of the name of one of their possessions, Waiblingen. Since Lothair and his party had been friendly to the Church, while the Hohenstaufens became its chief opponents, Guelf soon came to be a name used for the partizans of the papacy, and Ghibelline for its foes. These terms were destined to have a long history, especially in Italy, although the names were used later with changed meanings in the struggles in Florence and other Italian cities.

Hostilities between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines began soon after the election. Frederic and Conrad were angry at the loss of the expected prize. Their anger was increased by Lothair's demand that they should surrender to him property that had escheated to the emperors Henry IV and Henry V and that he claimed as imperial property, while the brothers held that it was a part of their inheritance from Henry V. Lothair was at first unsuccessful in arms. Conrad was elected as anti-king, and won support especially in Italy. Finally the brothers were compelled to submit to Lothair, and peace was established by the mediation of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Conrad as anti-King

After Lothair's death late in 1137, Conrad was elected king in 1138. His opponent in the election was Henry the Proud, Lothair's son-in-law, who was then the most powerful of the German nobles. For, in addition to Bavaria, he now held, as heir to Lothair, Saxony and the county of Tuscany. He could truthfully boast that his lands extended from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. He had counted upon being elected, just as Frederic had done, and lost the prize mainly because of the hostility of the lesser nobles. Henry's death in 1139 was a stroke of good fortune for the Hohenstaufens, especially because Henry's heir was a young boy, not yet able to assert his claims. Later this boy, who came to be known as Henry the Lion, was to be the great opponent of Frederic Barbarossa. It is necessary to dwell upon these personal rivalries because these were the cause of the weakness of both Lothair and Conrad and of the German kingdom. These gave both the Church and the lesser nobles an opportunity to increase their power. The resultant weakness of the kingdom may be best judged from the "Chronicle, or Book of the Two States," of Otto of Freising.

Conrad III 1138-1152

Otto was Conrad's half-brother, as he was the son of Agnes, daughter of Henry IV, by her second marriage with Leopold the Pious, margrave of Austria. He had studied at Paris under Abelard. On his way home he stopped a day at a Cistercian monastery, and was so impressed by the ideals of

Otto of Freising

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the order that he took the habit and remained there until summoned home to be the bishop of Freising. He proved an able, zealous bishop. He went on the ill-starred crusade of Conrad, and led one of the divisions. Before going on the crusade he had completed his "Book of the Two States," in which he set forth the melancholy condition of this world and the weakness of the German kingdom, crushed by the Church. He felt that the end of the world was near at hand, in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, and had no hope except in the heavenly state, which he described in his last book.

Otto was soon to write a second historical work in a very different mood, an optimistic one. For, at Conrad's death in 1152, his nephew Frederic "Barbarossa" was unanimously elected king. Frederic was the offspring of a Ghibelline father and a Guelf mother. He was young, magnetic, and handsome. His accession was hailed with joy, and by no one with greater pleasure than by Otto, his uncle, who began his "Deeds of Frederic" with high hopes that civil strife would end and the empire again be strong. These hopes were fulfilled in part in the first two years of the reign. Frederic was both energetic and tactful. Ever on the move, now in this city and now in that, he held repeated assemblies, trying to conciliate the lay princes and to win support from the ecclesiastical nobles, while at the same time insisting upon his own rights. He settled a contest between two claimants for the Danish throne, and the new king became his vassal. In spite of the opposition of the pope, he made the bishop of Naumburg archbishop of Magdeburg, and finally secured the papal consent to this encroachment upon the powers of the pope, who alone had the right to transfer a bishop from one see to another. He favored the Guelfs, especially Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to whom he also gave the long-coveted duchy of Bavaria. But Frederic secured peace and better order in the realm mainly by favoring the powerful bishops and ambitious Guelfs, and was frequently thwarted in his desires by lack of support from the lay nobles. This was galling to his pride, and he longed for occasion to win renown and greater powers through some successful expedition.

Frederic Barbarossa 1152-1190

First Italian Expedition

His patience and tact seemed destined to have their reward when, in 1154, he was at last able to set out for Rome. He desired to make an Italian expedition, to assert his rights in Lombardy, and to secure the imperial crown. The lure of Italy led him to begin a struggle that was to last for more than twenty years. At first he was successful. He was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, and easily and cruelly crushed some cities in the

north that opposed him. He then went to Rome, where he was crowned emperor by the pope in St. Peter's. He was not able to occupy the city, because of the opposition of the rebellious Roman people. But he did hang Arnold of Brescia, then had his body burnt, and the ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the people might worship his relics.

Arnold of Brescia

Arnold's career throws an interesting light upon twelfth-century conditions. He was a cleric, who had been born at Brescia about 1100. He studied at Paris under Abelard, and Bernard of Clairvaux said that the pupil in his revolutionary acts was carrying to a logical conclusion the teaching he had imbibed from his master. Arnold taught that the Church ought to give up its temporal power and return to its apostolic poverty. His career as a reformer began in Brescia, where he stirred up a revolution. He was banished from Italy by the second Lateran Council in 1139. Driven from France, where he had taken refuge, by Bernard of Clairvaux, he resided for a time at Zurich until a revolution in Rome gave him his opportunity. There the great feudal families, the Pierleoni, the Frangipani, the Colonna, and the Corsini, had long been at strife over the control of the city and the papacy. They had oppressed both the lesser nobles and the people, and this led to a revolt in 1143. Animated by the legends and traditions of the former greatness of Rome, the people assembled on the Capitol and established a commune under a patrician and fifty-six senators, mainly from the classes that had made the revolution. The pope, in attempting to capture the Capitol in 1145, was fatally wounded by a stone. Arnold went to Rome and soon became the real leader of the people. They dreamed of reëstablishing the Roman Empire as they conceived of it, and sought to ally themselves with the emperor Conrad. After the election of Frederic Barbarossa, one of their leaders wrote reproaching him for following the advice of the priests and monks instead of forming common cause with the Roman people, in whose gift was the office of emperor. But Frederic had made a treaty of alliance with the pope against both the commune at Rome and the Normans of southern Italy. The pope by placing Rome under an interdict broke the power of the rebels, because the laying of the interdict caused the pilgrims to avoid Rome and consequently cut off a large part of the income of the Roman people, who drew their living largely from the offerings made by the pilgrims and the money spent by them while in Rome. As the condition of raising the interdict, early in 1155, the pope demanded that they should expel Arnold. He was captured in Tuscany, and brought

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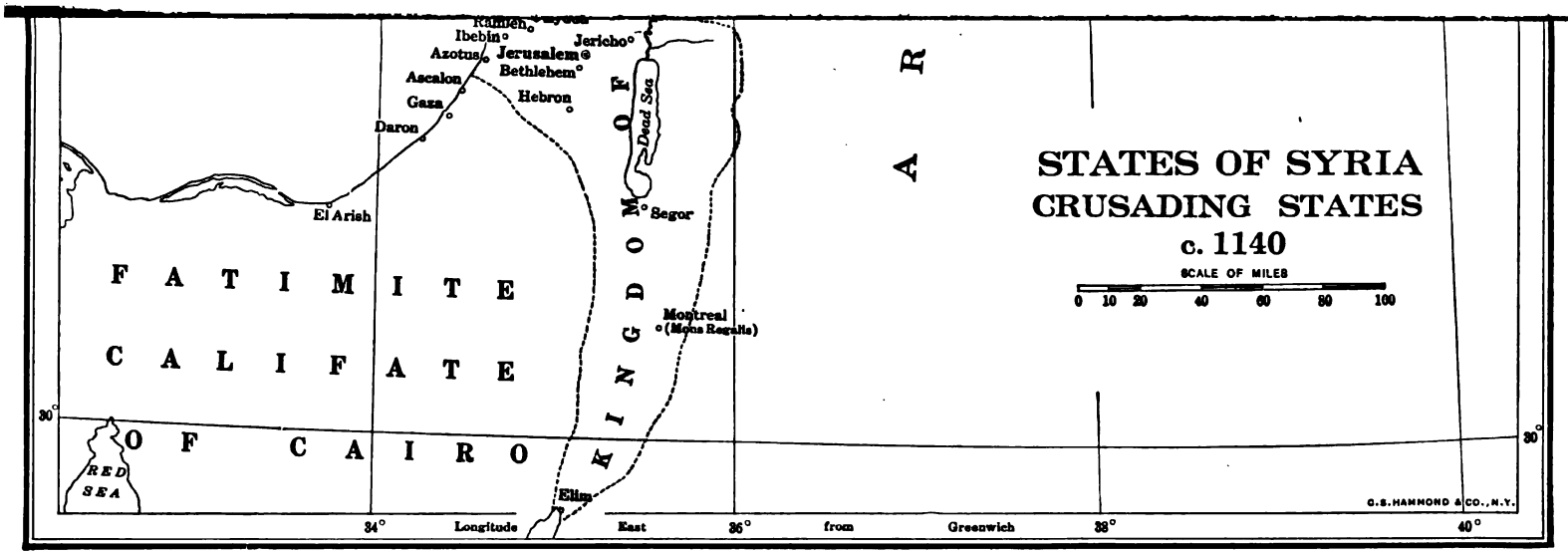
back to Rome to be executed by Frederic. But the latter's departure left the pope too weak to crush the commune.

Thus far pope and emperor had worked together, but not entirely without friction. When they first met, Frederic had refused to hold the bridle of the pope's horse, and the pope had consequently not given him the kiss of peace. Negotiations lasting throughout a day were necessary to convince Frederic that it was customary for the emperor to hold the pope's horse and that it was no derogation of the imperial dignity. This inauspicious beginning of the relations between Frederic and Adrian the Fourth, the only English pope, was followed by open rupture between the two as the result of a letter that the pope sent to Frederic while he was holding a diet at Besançon in 1157. In this letter the pope referred to the *beneficia* that he had given to the emperor. The imperial chancellor translated *beneficia* as "fiefs," the usual translation. The German nobles who were present were indignant as this seemed to imply that the emperor was the pope's vassal. The cardinal who had brought the letter made the matter worse by asking, "From whom, then, did the emperor hold his power, if not from the pope?" Frederic saved the life of the rash legate, but ordered him to leave at once. Frederic was thoroughly angry. Probably he had heard the tale, recorded in his uncle Otto of Freising's "Chronicle," of the painting that the pope was said to have had made of Lothair's coronation, with an inscription of which the last line read: "Then he became the man [vassal] of the pope, from whom he received the gift of the crown." Frederic wrote an open letter to his subjects declaring that he held his power from God alone, by the election of the princes. The pope, after sounding the opinion of the German nobles and bishops and finding it strongly on the emperor's side, wrote a conciliatory letter explaining that the chancellor had made a bad translation — that the word *beneficia* meant kindnesses, not fiefs. This closed the incident, but the hostility between the pope and the emperor was not ended.

Besancon Episode

The papacy was to find its most effective allies and the emperor his most dangerous foes in the cities of northern Italy. There the municipalities had developed into strong and almost independent political and military centers. They acted as the intermediaries in trade between the Mediterranean and Oriental lands and the countries of western Europe. Their merchants had become wealthy and had formed associations for mutual protection. Encircled by strong walls, filled with people accustomed to fight, these cities made redoubtable opponents. In the eleventh century Milan is said to have contained three hundred

Lombard Cities


STATES OF SYRIA
CRUSADING STATES
c. 1140
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Ramleh
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Ascalon
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Daron
Jericho
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Hebron
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FATIMITE CALIFATE OF CAIRO
KINGDOM OF SYRIA
RED SEA
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30°
34°
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38°
40°
Longitude East from Greenwich
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Cities

thousand inhabitants, and was an ally to be coveted by emperor or pope. During the investiture struggle emperor and pope had vied with each other in according privileges to these Lombard cities in order to secure their support, but neither one was in a position to exercise any real authority over them.

Their Government

The form of government varied from town to town, but in general followed the same outline. At the head was a larger or smaller number of consuls, who held administrative, judicial, and military powers. They were assisted by a council, or *credentia,* of leading citizens. Usually there was also a general assembly of the members of the community, which sometimes exercised considerable power over the consuls. But each city had its own laws and customs, and there were wide divergences in the actual working out of the details of the government. In some the nobles had thrown in their lot with that of the commune and shared in the administration. Usually the governing body, even the general assembly, did not include all the inhabitants, but only the privileged classes — nobles, clergy, and members of guilds. The remaining inhabitants were absolutely subject to these governing classes, who determined minutely just what the lower classes should be allowed to do. The guild men were very important. Otto of Freising could not restrain his indignation in writing about these artisans of base birth, who carried on despised trades and yet were armed like knights and held high offices in the cities.

Within each town there was frequent strife between members of the different factions. Between neighboring towns there was usually friction, if not open hostility. A discontented or oppressed faction in one might call for aid from any near-by town, and fighting was constant and ruthless. Milan was the most important city in the interior, and strove to gain an ever-widening hegemony over the other towns. In 1158 it was at the head of a league that included Brescia, Piacenza, Parma, and Modena. To protect themselves, Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, and Como had formed another league; but, as they were not strong enough to defend themselves against Milan, they sought aid from Frederic Barbarossa. He was already exasperated against Milan because of its "arrogance," and on his first expedition he had destroyed Tortona, one of its allies; now he wished to turn "all the forces of the empire against Milan in order to crush it."

Leagues of Cities

Milan resisted energetically at first, but had to yield and give hostages that it would be faithful and that in the future the consuls who might be elected should be subject to the emperor's confirmation. Encouraged by this success, Frederic determined to restore to their full vigor throughout Lombardy the imperial

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Roncaglian Diet

laws that had fallen into desuetude. For this purpose he held a diet on the Roncaglian Plain, at which professors of law from the famous school in Bologna assisted him in defining the imperial prerogatives or "regalia." These included control over the appointment of the chief officials in each city, the levying of tolls and customs, the monopoly of minting money, the revenues from mines, and various other rights that had long been in abeyance. The emperor's forces were so great that the cities had to yield temporarily. Frederic at once arranged to appoint a new official, a *podestà*, in each city, who was to be the emperor's immediate representative and to come from outside the city where he held office.

At Milan the attempt to introduce the *podestà* caused a popular uprising, and the emperor in anger besieged the city. Milan held out for almost three years, but was compelled by starvation to surrender. Frederic hardened his heart against the prayers of the citizens, but finally granted them their lives. He insisted upon the destruction of the city, and the people in the neighboring cities, hostile to Milan, eagerly leveled the walls, filled the moats, and destroyed the buildings. Frederic carried away the leading citizens as hostages, and forbade all others ever to return to live where Milan had been.

Destruction of Milan

Frederic had obtained his immediate objective. Moreover, he had crushed out opposition in other rebellious cities by a "policy of frightfulness." But he was in a more unfavorable position for carrying out his main purpose than he had been after the Roncaglian diet. The exactions of the new imperial officials exasperated even those cities that had been on Frederic's side because of their hatred of Milan. The citizens had enjoyed virtual independence too long to submit willingly to foreign rule, and they all resented the attempt to reintroduce feudal exactions. They were much more advanced in civilization than Germany, and their commerce demanded different treatment. In their hostility to the emperor their natural ally was the pope.

Harsh Rule Arouses Opposition

Adrian had demanded that Frederic should give up many of his claims, including the feudal overlordship of Tuscany, "the property of the countess Matilda," and all sovereign rights over Rome. As Frederic naturally refused, the pope had allied himself with the Lombard cities and the king of Sicily and had begun negotiations to obtain support from the Greek emperor. Adrian died in 1159, and was succeeded by Alexander III, who as cardinal legate had made the rash speech at Besançon. Frederic, knowing that Alexander would be an implacable foe, had an antipope elected; but the latter was recognized only in Germany —

Opposition of Pope

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the kings of the other leading countries in Europe recognized Alexander.

In 1166 Frederic made a fourth expedition to Italy. He marched on Rome and took it by assault, but was compelled to retreat in haste when an epidemic broke out in his army and threatened to destroy it. After great difficulties he regained Germany with only a small remnant of his host. Immediately on the news of his disaster the important cities in northern Italy formed the Lombard League (1167), which included not only the rebuilt Milan and its former allies, but also Venice and Bologna, and even cities that had been bitter foes to Milan, such as Lodi and Cremona. Alexander gave his blessing to the league and to the city of Alexandria, named in his honor, which the league built as its headquarters.

First Lombard League

Frederic was so occupied in Germany that he had to wait six years before renewing the struggle. Then two years of fruitless actions and negotiations followed until in 1176 the league attacked the emperor's army at Legnano and inflicted a crushing defeat. The following year, Frederic humbled himself before the pope, as his great-grandfather had done one hundred years before at Canossa. He hoped thus to detach him from his alliance with the league, but in vain. Finally, in 1183, he had to make the peace of Constance, by which he gave up the *regalia* accorded to him at the Roncaglian diet and recognized the virtual independence of the cities in the league, although he retained his suzerainty over them, together with the power of imposing certain taxes. This was a complete triumph for the league and for its ally, the pope. But conditions in Italy were such that no union was possible except in the face of a common foe. Rivalry soon led to the disintegration of the league. The pope was unable to establish his authority in Tuscany. Frederic's defeat restored in Italy the former disunion and weakness; it left him free to devote all his energy to affairs in Germany.

Peace of Constance

Since the diet at Besançon, Frederic's prestige had not increased. Then, in the words of Ragewin, who continued Otto of Freising's "Deeds of Frederic," "the whole world, recognizing that he was very strong and very merciful, moved at the same time by affection and fear, strove to render to him new marks of honor and to exalt him by new eulogies." His recent marriage with the heiress of upper Burgundy had given him control over the kingdom of Burgundy and Arles; his influence was paramount in the east, in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary; in the north, in Denmark. His power in Germany was so great that his excommunication by Alexander III had no effect. But, in order to

Power of Frederic

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Henry the Lion

maintain his power and security and to be free for his Italian expeditions, he had favored and supported his most powerful vassal, the Guelf, Henry the Lion.

While Frederic was expending his forces and money in Italy, Henry had been building up a great power in northern Germany and Bavaria. In the northeast he warred against the heathen Slavs, extending his conquests, establishing bishoprics and monasteries, and introducing colonists not only from Saxony but also from Holland, Denmark, and Flanders. He was in alliance with the king of Denmark and with Henry II of England, whose daughter he married. He was virtually monarch in northern Germany, and his prestige was great, extending even to Constantinople and the Holy Land, to which he made a pilgrimage. He felt himself so strong that, in spite of all the favors that he had received from the emperor, he refused to furnish aid for the later expeditions to Italy. His power and his character made for him many enemies, who carried their grievances to Frederic. Henry was summoned to meet his enemies before the imperial diet in 1179. Proud and confiding in his strength, he refused to obey. According to feudal usage, he was cited three times to appear, and then condemned to forfeit his fiefs and to banishment. He attempted to resist, but in less than two years Frederic had conquered Saxony and forced Henry to submission. Saxony and Bavaria were taken from him and he was sent into exile. After a few years he was allowed to return, as Frederic felt that he was no longer dangerous; but he was allowed to hold only Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Last Years of Frederic

The last years of Frederic's reign were prosperous. The year after the peace of Constance he held a magnificent diet at Mainz, where seventy "powerful princes" and seventy thousand knights came to do him honor. Concord was not established, and could not be, between him and the pope; but he had weakened the latter by detaching from him the support of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, through the marriage of his son Henry to Constance, the Norman heiress. The news of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 prevented further hostilities either in Germany or with the pope. Frederic's crusade and death will be described in the next chapter.

The Norman adventurers in Italy had succeeded in building up a strong state. To the period of conquest, which has already been described,[1] had succeeded a half-century of gradual consolidation, until in 1130 Roger II had secured the title of king from one of the popes as the price of his support during the

[1] See Chapter XVI.

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Schism. Although the pope, Anachete II, lost the papal throne, Roger and his successors retained the title. Roger, 1130–1154, built up a powerful kingdom. He maintained a strong army composed of both Moslems and Christians; legislated wisely and established a careful system of taxation and finances; welcomed men of ability from all lands; and was tolerant of all religions. In 1098 Urban II had granted to one of his predecessors, as duke, the dignity of apostolic legate in Sicily, both for himself and for his heirs, and consequently all other legates were excluded and the ruler had a firm control over the Church. The kings who had succeeded Roger had not been so able, but it was still a goodly heritage that Constance brought as her dowry to Henry.

Norman Kingdom in Italy

Henry had to fight to secure it. The Norman nobles were averse to his succession, and set up a rival king, Tancred. They found support in Germany from the party of Henry the Lion. The pope, although he had been compelled to crown Henry emperor, felt that the danger to the papacy would be too great if Henry should secure Sicily; consequently he supported Tancred. A series of fortunate events gave Henry the upper hand. The leader of the rebellious nobles of Germany fell in love with the emperor's cousin and submitted to him; the ransom of Richard the Lion Hearted[2] furnished him funds; Tancred died. Henry soon conquered southern Italy and Sicily, pillaged the land, and punished ferociously every attempt at revolt. In addition, he established his brother as ruler over "the property of Matilda," and in northern Italy built up a league of cities friendly to him to oppose the remnant of the Lombard League.

Conquest of Norman Kingdom

Henry had great power. He was emperor, king of Sicily, overlord of the kings of Armenia and Cyprus, and of Bohemond of Antioch; in addition Richard the Lion Hearted, to secure release from captivity, had been obliged to acknowledge him as overlord. He had even greater ambitions: he wished to make the empire hereditary for his descendants, and to extend it to include the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of Jerusalem. For this purpose he began a crusade; but in the midst of his preparations he was stricken with disease, and died when he was only thirty-two.

Power of Henry VI

The imperial succession was in dispute between Henry's brother Philip and Otto, the son of Henry the Lion. Philip was the stronger, but Otto was enabled to continue the struggle for ten years by the support of the pope and of his uncle, John of England. He was in a desperate position when Innocent was finally compelled to recognize Philip; but the latter's assassination,

Philip and Otto

[2] See Chapter XXIII

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in 1208, made Otto emperor. As soon as he was firmly established, he adopted the same policy toward the Church as had his Ghibelline predecessors. His demand for "the property of Matilda" alienated the pope. The Ghibelline party in Germany elected as their king Frederic, the son of Henry VI, and Innocent abandoned Otto for Frederic.

Youth of Frederic II

The latter was not quite three years old when his father died, and a year later, when his mother also died, he was left an orphan ward of Pope Innocent III. He grew up in Sicily, surrounded by Greeks, Normans, Germans, Saracens, and Jews. He was sometimes in the hands of one official, then seized by another; each, whether German or Sicilian, caring only to secure power by the possession of the person of the nominal ruler. "So, without a relative or friend, without ever feeling a ray of love, the child grew up in the midst of intrigues of the worst kind, among men whose empty greed he saw through only too quickly." He learned to use craft and deceit very early in life. He was precocious, brilliant, versatile, fascinating, passionate, restless. When Frederic was nearly thirteen years old, one of his attendants described him as follows:

> The king's stature is not only small, but also not large for his age. Nature has, however, endowed him with strong limbs and a vigorous body, with the ability to persist in every undertaking. He is never quiet, but is in motion all day long. In order to increase his strength by exercise he trains his supple body in the use of arms; and when he is exercising he seizes his sword, to which he trusts especially, and falls into a wild rage as if he wanted to slash his antagonist's face. He is skilful in the use of the bow, and practises shooting industriously. He delights in fine, swift horses; you may well believe that no one knows better than he how to drive them or to spur them to a gallop. Thus practising the use of arms in every fashion he spends the entire day in constant and varied activity, and even continues his practice throughout the first watch of the night. Moreover, he possesses royal dignity; he has the appearance and the commanding majesty of a ruler. His face is of gracious beauty, with a jovial forehead, and his eyes are so full of joy that it is a pleasure to look at him. He is wide awake, full of sagacity and docility. But his bearing is impertinent and unbecoming; . . . he is entirely inaccessible to advice and follows only the dictates of his own free will. As far as one can see, he considers it degrading to be under guardianship and to be regarded as a boy and not as a king. . . . His talents so far surpass his age that, now before he is a man, he is well equipped with knowledge and has the shrewdness that he would naturally have acquired only in the course of years.

He trusted no one and believed that every man or woman could be bought for a price. He was remarkably well educated and had great intellectual curiosity, studying eagerly natural history, mathematics, and other branches. He was a poet and, if we can trust Dante, of no small ability in verse. Such, in

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brief, was the boy of seventeen who was called to be the leader of the Hohenstaufens and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

For three years it was not certain that Frederic would triumph, although he had the pope's support. But the battle of Bouvines won by Frederic's ally, Philip Augustus, prevented John of England from aiding Otto, and the latter was gradually abandoned by most of his adherents. In 1215 Frederic received the imperial crown. The boy of twenty-one, elated by such success as a few years before seemed impossible, took a vow to go on a crusade. In his enthusiasm he may have dreamed of carrying out his father's ambitious schemes. But his vow was to hamper him for a dozen years; it gave the pope a weapon to use against him if he did not perform it within a reasonable time. It was impossible for him to undertake a crusade until he had established his rule firmly. Moreover, in order to win the pope's support, he had sworn not to keep both Sicily and Germany. He had no intention of giving up either. Fortunately for him, Innocent died in 1216 and was succeeded by Honorius III, a mild and kindly old man who had been Frederic's tutor. He did not insist upon the immediate abandonment of either Germany or Sicily, and showed himself very willing to listen to Frederic's repeated requests for postponement of the crusade.

Vow to Go on Crusade

When Honorius was succeeded by Gregory IX, in 1227, Frederic had to start on the crusade. He had been making arrangements, gathering forces and supplies, and especially negotiating with the sultan of Egypt, the ruler of Jerusalem. The latter was in a difficult position, being hard pressed by a rival Moslem power, the prince of Damascus, so that he was ready to treat with Frederic. The latter was king of Jerusalem by his marriage, in 1225, with Isabelle of Brienne, the heiress. Because of Gregory's insistence, Frederic had to set sail for the Holy Land in September, 1227, but returned to shore a few days later, alleging illness. The pope did not believe him, and excommunicated him for not fulfilling his vow. Without being released from excommunication, Frederic set out for Palestine in the following June, with a small force composed partly of faithful Saracen troops. The pope excommunicated him again for going on the crusade while still excommunicate. When he landed in Palestine the conditions were not so favorable as he had hoped. The prince of Damascus had died, and the sultan was no longer in need of aid. The pope had forbidden the military orders in the Holy Land to obey Frederic, and had ordered the patriarch of Jerusalem to lay an interdict upon any place where the emperor might be. Many of the crusaders

Frederic's Crusade

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left for home. Frederic, although he had only a few troops succeeded in making a treaty with the sultan. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and some other places were handed over to him. But the Moslems were to keep the mosque of Omar and to have the right to worship freely in Jerusalem. Moreover, there was to be a truce for ten years, during which Frederic agreed to prevent the princes of the West from attacking Egypt. After making the treaty Frederic went to Jerusalem and crowned himself. Then he hastened home, for Gregory had preached a crusade against Frederic's dominions in Italy, and the crusaders were led by two cardinals and John of Brienne, Frederic's father-in-law, who was angry because Frederic had taken from him the title of king of Jerusalem.[3] Frederic was easily successful, and made peace with the pope in 1230. He was now free to devote himself again to the problem of administering his kingdoms.

Government in Sicily

Sicily was his home by preference, and to its administration he gave the greatest care. Much had been done in the preceding century by Roger II to lay the foundations for a strong, centralized, non-feudal state. It is impossible to say how much of Frederic's work was a logical following out of Roger's institutions, and how much was due to Frederic's initiative. In his "Constitutions for the Kingdom of Sicily," published in 1231, Frederic took away from both nobles and clergy most of their power and privileges. The nobles were forbidden to make private war, and no one but a servant of the king was allowed to carry weapons. Criminal jurisdiction was taken from the feudal lords, and they were not allowed to give their children in marriage without the emperor's consent. The clerical courts lost all their jurisdiction over laymen, except in cases of adultery. The members of the clergy were forbidden to hold public office and were compelled to pay taxes. Frederic showed himself more favorable to the citizens, and did much to encourage commerce; but he did not permit the cities to elect their own *podestàs* or consuls. All power was centralized in the emperor, who surrounded himself with a strong corps of administrative officials dependent wholly upon his favor. The country grew wealthy under his rule. Later even the pope contrasted the bad conditions in Sicily under his own protégé, Charles of Anjou, with its prosperity under the hated Hohenstaufen.

Policy in Germany

In Germany Frederic's policy was entirely different. There

[3] Jerusalem was a hereditary kingdom. John had secured his title of king by marrying the heiress. After her death her daughter, who married Frederic, was the heiress, and Frederic claimed the title as her husband.

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he granted greater powers to the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, powers that made them almost independent in their own lands. At first he showed himself very hostile to the cities, whose charters he revoked; but as the carrying out of this policy was left to the former rulers of the cities, especially the bishops, few of the cities suffered; and later Frederic sought the support of the cities. The keynote to his policy in Germany seems to have been that he cared only to get from it men and supplies for the carrying out of his policy in Italy.

Lombard League

He needed this support, especially in his struggle with the Lombard League and the pope. In one of his letters Frederic described the spirit of municipal freedom as "a poisonous weed which must be rooted out." The Lombard cities distrusted him, and only a few remained of his party. The pope feared that Frederic would be able to build up a strong centralized government in northern as well as in southern Italy, which would crush the papacy. When the Lombard League allied itself with Henry, the rebel son of Frederic, the latter declared war on the league. He won a brilliant victory at Cortenuova in 1237. The pope, who had been friendly to the league and had attempted to intervene, finally excommunicated Frederic, in 1239.

Frederic's Struggle with the Pope

Both parties appealed to the public opinion of Europe as represented by the kings and leaders, just as they had done in the time of Frederic's crusade. The pope laid stress upon the emperor's impiety and misdeeds. The emperor demanded the calling of a general council, so that he might have an opportunity to prove the pope's unworthiness for his office, and warned the other kings that if the pope crushed the emperor it would then be easy for him to humble them — the emperor's cause was theirs. Gregory summoned the bishops of the Christian world to Rome to hold a council. Since Frederic knew that the decision would be adverse to him, he attacked the Genoese fleet on which bishops from France, England, Italy, and Spain had set sail for Rome, and captured three papal legates and many archbishops and bishops. The council could not be held. Gregory died a few months later, and no pope was consecrated for almost two years. Frederic attempted to win to his cause the new pope, Innocent IV, who was an old friend; but no accord was possible between Frederic and the pope. After negotiating for a time, Innocent withdrew to Lyons in order to be able to hold a council in safety. There Frederic was declared guilty of perjury, heresy, and sacrilege, and was solemnly excommunicated. Innocent preached a crusade against him and laid an interdict on Sicily. An anti-king was elected in Germany by the papal partizans.

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The war with the Lombard League was waged with the greatest barbarity on both sides, and no decisive results had been obtained by either party when Frederic died, in 1250.

Character of Frederic

It is easier to describe the tangled events of his reign than it is to form an estimate of his character. The popes' hostility to him had been mainly political, and Louis IX of France had rebuked one pope for his un-Christian conduct. Modern writers have styled Frederic "the first modern king." Misled by his great talents, they have frequently been too partial to him. In this respect they are following the German opponents of the papacy, who long believed that Frederic was not dead, but would return to free them from the papal tyranny. This legend about Frederic was transferred to his grandfather at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and made well known by the ballad of the sleeping Barbarossa. It was natural that the Germans should transfer the legend to the grandfather for whom Frederic was named; for the latter was not at all a German. He was a product of the mixture of peoples and civilizations in Sicily. This was especially noticeable in his habits and point of view. He has been aptly styled "a baptized sultan." He had his harems, guarded by eunuchs, which he took with him on his journeys. Also on his royal progresses he was usually accompanied by a menagerie, which he kept partly for show and partly for the opportunity that it gave him to study the animals. An account of one of his journeys reminds us of a circus parade. First came the four-horse wagons, "filled with gold and silver, cambric and purple, jewels and splendid furniture"; then, camels and dromedaries, lions, panthers, white bears, monkeys, and other animals, especially falcons; an enormous elephant, a present from the sultan of Egypt, which bore on its back a huge tower from which Saracen attendants looked down; Ethiopians with silver trumpets, Moorish dancers, and jongleurs; and the great closed chariots for his harem and the attendants.

Author and Patron of Learning

Frederic really studied animals, and was especially interested in falcons. He made a collection of all kinds of hawks, and wrote a book on falconry in which he compared the different species and described the methods of training them. He accepted no statement about hawks on the authority of any previous writer, and often corrected the mistakes of others. This is characteristic of his point of view; he was a skeptic. The pope denounced him for writing a book on "The Three Impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed," and Frederic may actually have written such a work. In spite of the fact that he persecuted heretics cruelly, he was not at all an orthodox Christian.

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Men of all religions, or of none, were welcome at his court if they had skill in any branch of knowledge. He founded the University of Naples and was a liberal patron of many kinds of learning. Dante called him "the father of Italian poetry." In his own age he was described as *stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis* ("the wonder of the world and a marvelous innovator").

Sanctity

Frederic had imbibed the old Roman idea of the sanctity of the emperor. He spoke of Iesi as the "noble city where our divine mother brought us into the world," "this Bethlehem where Cæsar was born." He regarded the pope as his subordinate and had no reverence for him. In one of his letters to his prime minister, Peter de Vineis, Frederic applied to him the Biblical text, "thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Any one who studies Frederic's relations with the popes and with the Church will understand why a pope spoke of "the viper brood of the Hohenstaufens," and why Innocent IV and his immediate successors were determined to exterminate the family of Frederic II.

They were successful. The last legitimate male Hohenstaufen perished on the scaffold at Naples in 1268. Rival candidates were elected as emperor, but had no real power. The period between 1254, the date of the death of Conrad, son of Frederic II, and 1273, the date of the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, is generally called the Great Interregnum, or by the Germans the Age of *Faustrecht* (fist law"), when might made right, when there was no established central authority, and each district had to depend upon its own resources to maintain order.

Great Interregnum

Advance of Germany

This period, however, saw a wonderful development of the German people. It was especially notable for the extension of German colonizing activities in the northeast. The cities grew stronger and more independent. Freed from the incubus of Italy and from the constant drain of men and supplies to maintain the imperial pretensions in other lands, the Germans organized leagues of cities which maintained their independence.

CHAPTER XXV

THE LATER CRUSADES

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THE news of the fall of Jerusalem made a profound impression throughout western Europe. Warring kings made peace and took the cross; the most eminent were Henry II of England and his son Richard, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederic Barbarossa of Germany. The last was the first to start, in May, 1189. He made careful regulations, so that the army might be thoroughly efficient; ordering that no poor man should take part, that no women should accompany the host except laundresses, and that discipline should be maintained. Before setting out he attempted to make alliances with the Greek emperor and with the sultan of Iconium. The latter was the great rival of Saladin, and held an important position to the north. In the meantime the Greek emperor had entered into an alliance with Saladin. Consequently each emperor was allied with a Mohammedan power. But the Greek emperor was unable to do anything to check Frederic, who with his army marched overland to Constantinople without any serious difficulties. He then crossed into Asia Minor and advanced successfully to the brook Chalycadnus in Seleucia where he was drowned through the force or the chill of the water. Almost all of his followers returned home in order to look after their own interests; only a small number proceeded on their expedition.

The Third Crusade: Frederic Barbarossa

In the meantime war had broken out again between Henry II and Philip Augustus, who was aided by Richard. The death of Henry led to peace, and in 1190 Philip and Richard set out on the crusade. At first the two kings were friendly, but they quarreled while they were in Sicily, and became bitter enemies. Philip sailed for Acre, which the Christians were besieging; Richard proceeded leisurely, stopping to capture Cyprus and to get married before going to Acre.

Philip and Richard

The siege of this city had been going on for months. Virtually all the forces in the Holy Land, with the remnant of Frederic Barbarossa's army and the crusaders led by the king of France, were engaged in it. Saladin was watching the Christian army and was attempting to rescue Acre. When Richard arrived, there was great joy in the Christian camp. But the siege dragged

Siege of Acre

on for many weary months. The contemporary chroniclers, both Arab and Christian, have left accounts of many incidents, so that this crusade has come to be the theme of romance. The enmity of Philip and Richard was constant, and soon extended to their respective followers. Conditions became so bad that it was not safe to lead both the English and the French forces into action at the same time, lest they might turn their weapons against each other. Richard entered into communication with Saladin, and they exchanged presents, although they never met. During the progress of the siege there were many picturesque incidents. Both parties watched eagerly the achievements of the mangonels. Richard had taken with him from Sicily three shiploads of flint-stones for use in his machines; one of these stones, which is said to have killed thirteen of the men of Acre, was carefully saved and taken to Saladin as a curiosity. In order to carry on communication with the people in the city, Saladin employed expert swimmers, and the Christians attempted to prevent this be stretching out huge nets. One of the messengers was drowned while attempting to make the passage; but as his dead body was washed ashore at Acre, and the inhabitants obtained the money that had been sent them, they said that this man paid his debts even after death. The Christians were eager to tear down the defensive walls of the city, and Richard offered large pay for every stone that was dislodged; consequently his followers achieved great deeds of valor in their attempts to tear the stones from the wall. Even the women engaged eagerly in the work of the siege. One of them who was carrying material to fill the moat was fatally wounded by a shot from the wall. She begged that her body might be thrown into the moat, so that she might assist even after death. Finally the siege, which had begun on August 27, 1189, came to an end with the capture of the city on July 12, 1191.

During the progress of the siege some Germans had made awnings from the sails, and had turned their vessels into hospitals to care for the wounded. From this humble beginning, which was highly admired, grew the great Teutonic Order. But this order, unlike the knights of the Temple and the Hospital, was to achieve its great distinction in the West, in its contest with the heathen Wends and Prussians.

Teutonic Order

Two of the conditions of the surrender had been the payment of a huge ransom and the restoration of the true cross, which had been captured by Saladin at Jerusalem. The ransom was not paid at the appointed time; consequently Richard ordered the twenty-seven hundred captives whom he had held as a

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Fate of Captives

guaranty to be led out and slaughtered in cold blood. This act, and the favorable comments made upon it by Christian writers, reveal the barbarism of the western knights. It was in great contrast with the action of Saladin when he had conquered Jerusalem. He too had stipulated for a ransom, and had laid a price upon the head of each Christian in the city. The Christians raised all the money they could, but were unable to pay the necessary sum. Then Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, came to the latter and begged him for a thousand captives. These were given to him, and he set them free. Next the Christian patriarch came, begging for some captives; these were granted to him, and he set them free. Saladin said, "My brother and the patriarch have made their alms; now it is my turn," and he set all the remaining captives free without ransom. These various deeds are eloquent of the difference in civilization between the Saracens and the Franks.

The remainder of the crusade may be passed over very briefly. Philip returned home almost at once. Richard stayed for some time, making indecisive marches, fighting bravely, but accomplishing nothing. The Arabs learned to respect his valor very highly, and it is said that he became a kind of "bogey-man" in proverbial literature: when an Arab horse shied without cause, the Arab spoke of his seeing Richard in the bush; when a babe cried, the Arab mother threatened him with King Richard. Finally Saladin took the offensive, and Richard, who was badly needed at home, found it expedient to make peace. He secured fairly good terms, as Saladin also was anxious for peace. On September 1, 1192, it was arranged that Christian pilgrims should enter the city of Jerusalem freely, and other provisions were made that were favorable to the Christians; but on the whole the crusade had been without result, except for the capture of Acre.

Peace Made

On his return Richard was seized and held as a prisoner by the arch-duke of Austria, whom he had angered at the siege of Acre. The emperor Henry VI of Germany compelled the arch-duke to hand over to him the illustrious prisoner. Richard had to remain in prison for many months, and was released only after he had done homage to Henry, and had promised to pay the enormous ransom of £100,000. In order to make up this sum it is said that every man, woman, and child in England, Normandy. and Richard's other possessions, had to contribute.

Richard's Ransom

The events of the next few years were indecisive. The German crusade undertaken by Henry VI failed because of his death. Finally, in 1201, a number of French knights took the cross,

and sent messengers to the Italian cities to secure vessels to transport them and their army across the sea. Venice promised to furnish the necessary vessels and provisions for a year, on the payment of four marks for each horse and two marks for each man.[1] In addition Venice was to furnish vessels and troops of its own, and was to receive one half of all the conquests made. The time of departure was set for June, 1202. Fourth Crusade

When the appointed time came only a comparatively small number of crusaders had reached Venice, and they found it impossible to raise the amount of money that had been promised. Venice was in a position to exact its own terms if the crusade was to take place. There had been a convenient ambiguity as to the destination. Venice had promised to carry the crusaders *outre-mer;* the host of pilgrims conceived of this as Syria; the leaders probably intended Egypt. One contemporary chronicler states that the Venetians had made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, and had promised that they would not carry the pilgrims to his land. Whether this is true or not, Venice determined to use the expedition for its own advantage. As the crusaders were entirely unable to raise the sum that had been agreed upon, the doge proposed to the leaders that they should earn the money by capturing the city of Zara. This was situated across the Adriatic from Venice, and was a commercial rival. The leaders agreed to this, but kept the matter secret from the mass of the army, and the latter, thinking that they were actually starting on the crusade, made great bonfires and were very joyful. Diversions to Zara

After some weeks of indecisive movements the crusading army reached Zara.[2] There was a great division in the army of the crusaders, most of them insisting that they should not attack a Christian city. The pope had already learned of the movement against Zara, and had ordered them not to war against the Christians. Finally the leaders succeeded in inducing a sufficient number to act with the Venetians, and the city was captured. Since it was late in the fall, the Venetians urged the Capture of Zara

[1] Natalis de Wailly estimated the value of a mark at about fifty-two francs in the present-day money. (This was when a franc was worth about nineteen cents.) If his reckoning is correct, this would mean that each man was to be provided with transportation and food for a year for about twenty dollars in our money. Of course this is entirely misleading. This is an example of the difficulty of reducing any medieval sum to the modern equivalent.

[2] The reason for the long delay in reaching Zara has never been explained. There is a possibility that the alliance with the young Alexius was already under discussion, and that this time was spent in negotiations with him.

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impossibility of proceeding further that winter, and kept the crusaders at Zara.

When the spring came there were fresh plots on the part of the leaders and the Venetians. It is probable that the terms of the original treaty had been kept secret from the mass of the army. According to the treaty, the Venetians were to furnish food for one year; but Villehardouin, in his history of this crusade, says that the Venetians had promised to furnish provisions for nine months, and this seems to have been the general belief in the Christian army, for there was great discussion about what was to be done. Some urged that the time for which the vessels had been hired was virtually over, and that some new arrangements must be made in order that the crusade might continue. Under those circumstances a plot with the pretender, or the "rightful heir," to the Byzantine throne made progress. In an assembly of the crusaders the doge said: "Sirs, Greece is a very rich land, and bountifully supplied with everything. If we can find a sufficient excuse for going there and taking food and other things, so as to recuperate, it would seem to be advisable, and then we could easily go across the sea." Then the marquis Boniface of Montferrat rose and said: "Sir, I was in Germany at the emperor's court last Christmas. There I saw a young man who is the emperor's brother-in-law. This young man is the son of the emperor Kyrsac (Isaac) of Constantinople, from whom his brother has taken the empire of Constantinople by treason. Whoever could get this young man, could certainly go to the land of Constantinople and take provisions and other things; for this young man is the rightful heir." Alexius was already close at hand, and the arrangements were soon made. The proposal was that, if the crusaders would aid him, he would bring the Greek Church under the obedience of the pope; he would give two hundred thousand marks of silver and provisions; he would furnish them men to aid them in the conquest of Egypt; and as long as he lived he would maintain five hundred knights in the land of *Outre-Mer* to guard it. These terms were accepted by the doge and the leaders, and were finally agreed to by most of the army.

Diversion to Constantinople

The crusaders set sail for Constantinople, succeeded in capturing the city, and placed Alexius and his father upon the throne. But the young Alexius was wholly unable to carry out the conditions he had made. The crusaders laid little stress upon anything except the payment of the money, but this Alexius was not able to raise. A war soon began between him and his associates, and the crusaders besieged the city in order to

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secure payment. After great hardships they finally succeeded in capturing Constantinople. There had been divisions in the army throughout the whole time, and many had left the crusade because of their unwillingness to take part in such a crime. the pope had repeatedly commanded them not to attack Constantinople, and had placed the Venetians under excommunication for their deeds. But when the city was finally captured all who were present joined in the sack. Their conduct was described later by Innocent III in scathing terms that were fully justified. The crusaders gave full vent to their passions and wantonly destroyed much of the city. Priceless treasures of art, which they were unable to appreciate, were broken in pieces. The gold and silver and relics were stolen and divided among the hosts. Indescribable orgies accompanied the sack, and the scene of the worst was the great church of St. Sophia.

Sack of Constantinople

Before the city had been captured the crusaders had arranged for the division of the spoils. An emperor was to be elected by a commission and was to receive one-fourth of the whole empire. The remaining three fourths were to be divided equally between the Venetians and the crusaders. This compact was carried out. Count Baldwin of Flanders was elected emperor, and a Venetian patriarch was chosen. Innocent III acquiesced in the accomplished fact, and ordered the crusaders to remain for a year at Constantinople in order to strengthen the empire. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted only a little more than half a century, and was always weak. Venice profited greatly because she, by the terms of the agreement, secured "a quarter and a half of a quarter" of the Greek Empire, and took as her part mainly islands and possessions on the coast. Many of these she long retained. In 1261 the Latin Empire came to an end, through the capture of Constantinople by the emperor of the Empire of Nicæa, one of the rival states established by the Greek exiles from Constantinople. This ill-fated Latin Empire had weakened Constantinople, which never recovered its former strength, and had hurt the cause of the crusades, partly because the shameless conduct of the leaders in the fourth crusade had brought discredit upon the whole movement, and partly because adventurers, in search of booty, were attracted to Constantinople for half a century, and few went to fight in the Holy Land.

Latin Empire

Innocent III was always eager for a new crusade. His preachers went throughout the West urging people to take the cross. But there was little zeal shown anywhere for the crusade. Finally, in 1212, a curious movement began which is indicative of the state of feeling at that time. A large number of children

The Children's Crusade

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gathered together both in Germany and France, under the leadership of mere boys, saying that they were going to Jerusalem. They took as their motto "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, O Lord," and declared that they would succeed in recovering the Holy Land without fighting. The band of French children marched about in the north of France, singing songs and meeting with popular approbation. The French king consulted the doctors of the University of Paris concerning this movement, and, being told by them that it was unwise, he commanded the children to return home. They did so, and the movement in France came to an end.

In Germany, however, some twenty thousand children gathered under the leadership of a boy named Nicholas, and set out on their march. The band was composed of both boys and girls, of every rank in society; and some evil men and women had joined the host in order to prey upon the children. They marched up the Rhine, across the Alps, and down into Italy. On their way they suffered severely because of the heat, but were well treated by the people. They interpreted even the heat and drought as good, because they believed that the Lord would dry up the Mediterranean and open for them a way to pass through dry-shod, as the children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea. When they reached Genoa the band was estimated at about seven thousand, and the city fathers at first refused to let them enter the city. Finally permission was granted for them to remain a single night. As the sea did not open before them, the children separated to seek a passage elsewhere. Some went through Italy as far as Brindisi, and there the bishop persuaded them to return home. Others went to Marseilles, and were sold into slavery by some merchants of that city. Few returned home. Many were forced to remain in Italy. The whole expedition came into derision later; but it illustrates the spirit of the age, and the devotion to the cause of the crusade.

During this period it would have been comparatively easy for the Christians to recover Jerusalem. Saladin died soon after the third crusade; and, as his possessions were divided among his numerous heirs, civil war ensued. Their disunion made them very weak, but unfortunately the Christians did not attempt to take advantage of this. Those who remained in the Holy Land were mainly of the merchant class, and were more interested in commerce than in fighting. They lived on comparatively advantageous terms with the Mohammedans, and preferred not to see their trade disturbed by warfare. The only important under-

Conditions in the Holy Land

taking was the crusade against Damietta, and this came to nothing, mainly because the papal legate seemed determined to rule or ruin. The crusades as great military movements had practically ceased except for the expeditions of Frederic II and St. Louis, which have been mentioned in connection with the history of these monarchs. The Christians lost their last possessions in the Holy Land in 1291.

Importance of the Crusades

The importance of the crusades is due to the fact that they brought peoples of many different nationalities together, and caused an interchange of ideas and customs. It is much easier to state this generally than to attempt to tabulate the results of the movement, with regard to which the opinions of historians have varied widely. Kugler states, in substance, that it would be almost impossible to find any sphere of life that did not find some enrichment from the East during the period of the crusades. Seignobos thinks that these movements may have had some general effect upon Christian society, but that there were more active and more effective causes in the West for the results that have been noted. It seems best to hold an intermediate position and to state only certain facts.

Europe originally was not so well supplied as Asia with the necessities of life, and in particular with the various grains and fruits. Very many of our common plants have been brought from the Orient, but only a few are definitely known to have been brought during the period of the crusades; among these may be noted the Ascalonian garlic, watermelons, and a few others. But the crusaders became familiar with many things in the East, and when they returned home they desired these. They had formed new tastes that they wanted to gratify. An example may be taken from the use of spices. In Rome their use had been common, but with the decline of commerce and the unsettled condition of society they gradually dropped out of use in the West. If we can trust the figures that are given, at the capture of Cæsarea in 1101 the Genoese in their portion of the booty received more than sixteen thousand pounds of pepper. Whether this statement is accurate or not, pepper and other spices came into use in the West in the twelfth century, and from that time on no banquet was complete without spiced dishes and wine. Comparatively soon other tastes were also acquired in the Orient, especially in the matter of clothing. The fine cloths, especially of muslin and silk, were very much appreciated. Camel's-hair and the finer furs were also introduced into their own homes by the returning crusaders. More effective military methods and implements became known by their contact with

New Tastes

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the Greeks and the Mohammedans — in particular Greek-fire and the cross-bow.

Transportation

In order to gratify these new needs, better means of transportation were required. Fortunately, these were supplied by the crusaders themselves. The great bands of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land necessitated the construction of larger vessels to carry them, their horses, and their provisions. The crusaders in Syria needed war-horses, food supplies, and lumber from their own homes. Vessels made two trips each year with the pilgrims: one to carry those who desired to keep Easter at Jerusalem, and a second in the fall for those who wished to spend their Christmas in the Holy Land. The vessels that carried the pilgrims and their supplies were able to take back cargoes of Eastern products, and the cost of transportation was reduced to a very great extent. This carrying trade brought great profits to the Italian cities through which the goods were carried to the various parts of the West.

Manufacturing

The wares they had learned to desire during their sojourn in the East were not only imported, but were also manufactured at home. In certain centers the making of Saracen rugs and other products in imitation of the Orient was actively carried on. In fact, during the period of the crusades cloth that was made at Arras was esteemed so highly that it was sent as a present to one of the Turkish rulers, and the silk manufactures of Sicily became important. This manufacturing and commerce caused the growth of fairs.

Money

For this increased trade a larger supply of money was needed. The crusaders for their expeditions also needed large sums of ready money which they could transport or send to the Holy Land. The gold and silver that had been hoarded or used as ornaments were coined and passed rapidly into circulation. But the supply was not sufficient, and the Templars soon began to use letters of credit. By the rapidity of circulation and by the instruments of credit the amount of capital was enormously enhanced, and the merchants acquired great wealth.

During the twelfth century, as noted elsewhere, the cost of living increased very rapidly. Both the nobles and the clergy desired the new luxuries that had soon become quasi-necessities. The income of the nobleman was to a great extent fixed by custom; from each tenant on an estate he received so much service and definite payments each year. The more enterprising were able to increase their incomes in various ways, but the great majority could obtain the luxuries only by borrowing. Money-lending was largely in the hands of the Jews, as Christians

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were forbidden to take interest, and, because of the unsettled condition of the times, the rates of interest were extremely high. In England the usual rate was twopence on a pound each week, compounded once in six weeks; this is equivalent to over 52 per cent. a year. The nobleman who once fell into debt had little opportunity of getting out. As a result, many of the lenders came to be very heartily hated, and the hatred found vent in the persecution of the Jews, especially when the nobles were in need of large sums of ready money, as at the beginning of the first or second or third crusade. But until the thirteenth century there was no fixed hostility to the Jews on the part of society at large.

Money Lending

Next to the economic, the intellectual results of the crusades were the most important. Contact with men of other nations and other creeds caused a change in the ideas held by the crusaders. They became tolerant of the Mohammedans and of the heretics, although events later were to bring about a great reaction of intolerance. When they set out on the first crusade, the Christians held many beliefs that they were destined to find untrue. Count Stephen of Blois wrote home to his wife that what they had been told about the climate of Syria was false. The chroniclers had wholly to revise their estimate of the bravery of the Turks, whom they had been taught to consider cowards. The men from the West were constantly having brought to their attention new matters that caused them to question, and their questioning led to doubt. Also Eastern heresies spread rapidly along the routes followed by the merchants.

Skepticism

Every one was keenly interested in the crusades because there was scarcely a village from which no one had gone on one or another of these expeditions. News from the Holy Land was eagerly awaited. The songs that were sung in the crusading army were often repeated in the West before attentive audiences. Histories of the undertakings were written, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century accounts of the fourth crusade were produced in the vernacular. The events that were related in these songs and histories made the people who had stayed at home acquainted with names of geographical places and many Oriental peculiarities and customs. French was so commonly used and understood that the stories current in one country soon passed to another, especially as they were borne by the pilgrims on their journeys to various shrines. Many a romantic episode occurred and was afterwards preserved in song. Among these was the unexpected return of the long-lost lord who had been believed to be dead. Not infrequently his identity was

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established only by the broken ring with which he had pledged his wife, or by some similar device. Frankish maidens had been married to Mohammedans, and Saracen princesses had left their homes to follow Christian knights. All of this new material for romance was eagerly welcomed in the West.

Summary

A number of definite acquisitions of a miscellaneous character may be ascribed to the contact between the Franks and the natives during the crusades. The art of heraldry grew up in Syria, and many of its terms betray their Oriental origin. Family names also became common, because of the necessity of distinguishing one from another. Certain customs, such as the use of windmills and the wearing of beards, were introduced. But the most important results were the broadening of the intellectual horizon and the enrichment of the West.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NOBLES

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BEFORE the twelfth century almost any one in western Europe who had a large income was a noble. The exceptions were a few Jews and some Christians who were merchants or usurers; and the income of these exceptions was not derived primarily from holdings of land, which were the main source of wealth. The land-holders included both laymen and clerks. The latter were generally bishops or abbots, whose office made them the rulers of large estates that owed feudal services to the kings, or others, and had to be protected and administered feudally just like the counties or baronies held by laymen. The bishop or abbot was expected to lead his contingent of fighters at the overlord's summons. He had to be ready to defend his property and dependents against invaders and robbers. In the ninth century, especially, a leader was often styled abbot-count, to mark the double position that he held. Sometimes an abbot employed a layman called an "advocate" or "defender" to perform his military duties; but it was a dangerous custom, for the advocate often became the oppressor of a monastery too weak to defend its rights. The bishops were frequently experienced military leaders, and their life differed little from that of the other high nobility.

Lay and Ecclesiastical Nobles

The wealthier nobles usually lived in castles, and sometimes a noble would have many castles, because he held many scattered fiefs that had to be protected. The shape and size of a castle depended upon its site, and the latter was chosen for its inaccessibility to siege-machines. Ideal situations were an island a short distance from the shore, the spur of a hill, a bit of firm ground in the midst of a bog, or a narrow tongue of land at the junction of two rivers. In any of these positions a castle was relatively immune from danger of assault by battering-rams or towers on wheels, the most effective siege-machines then known. When a castle was not on an elevation or surrounded by water or marshy ground that made it impossible to bring the heavy siege-machines up to the walls, it was usually encompassed by moats or ditches filled, if convenient, with running water. These would have to

Position of Castle

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be filled up by the besiegers before the towers could be brought up to the walls or scaling-ladders could be placed.

The early castles were small, and wood was generally the material used for both walls and buildings. As such castles could easily be burned, it was a great advance when stone came into common use in the twelfth century. At the same time returning crusaders, who had seen the larger and better built castles in Syria, desired stronger and more ambitious homes.

Increased Size of Castles

Larger castles were built, the means of defense were improved, and larger garrisons had to be kept. Before this time the garrison had consisted only of the lord's family and a very few retainers. With the increased size of the castles the garrisons were made up partly of men-at-arms in the employ of the lord, and partly of his vassals, who owed castle-ward, or guard, for longer or shorter periods of time each year. When the vassals came to perform this service they were usually expected to bring their families with them. Frequently in the twelfth and later centuries their sons and daughters were sent to the castle of the overlord for a period of years, so that they might be educated.

Change in Castle Life

Castle life was now very different from what it had been in the earlier centuries. Then a knight had lived isolated in his castle, at strife with his neighbors, surrounded only by his family and dependents, over all of whom he had virtually absolute power. He had little or no education; his religion was mainly a matter of superstition; he was often tyrannical and cruel. There was no public opinion to influence him, and his wife was frequently equally cruel. The pen-pictures drawn of these knights and ladies show how barbarous, cruel, and empty their life must have been. Contact with other peoples, new ideas and ideals, living together, brought advance in many lines. This progress spread rapidly because of the restlessness of the age. Knights, jongleurs, merchants, and pilgrims were constantly traveling for religion, pleasure, or profit, and they passed from castle to castle, carrying information and gossip, praising the lords and ladies who had been generous to them.

Occupations of Nobles

A great lord was a busy man. He had at least several castles and fiefs for whose maintenance and government he must provide. It was easier to go to eat the food where it was grown than to have the food sent, in the clumsy carts of the day, over the bad roads, to a central castle; consequently he had to spend much time traveling. He usually had one or more great castles which he preferred, and in these court life, "courtesy," developed. In addition to the administration of the fiefs and holding courts of justice, the lord directed the education of the young nobles

in the castle. His chief amusement was hunting, upon which the supply of fresh meat usually depended. Next in importance among his amusements were possibly the banquets, where he not only ate gluttonously and drank deeply, but afterward listened to a jongleur, of whose tales more anon. Other diversions were bear-baiting or other torture of animals kept for the purpose, jousting or watching others fight, receiving guests, making love, playing chess or checkers, and dancing.

Occupations of Ladies

His wife shared in all of these amusements and had many duties in addition. The superintendence of the household, doctoring or nursing the sick or wounded, overseeing the weaving of clothing or tapestry, directing the education of the girls, made for her a full and varied life.

Education of Noble

It is apparent that careful training was necessary to fit the boys and girls to carry on so many and such different activities. A son of a noble was usually sent to the castle of the suzerain to begin his training when he was very young. At first he served as a page. Some of his duties then were to wait upon the ladies, to run errands, and to acquire the beginning of his education as a knight. When he was strong enough to handle the weapons of a man and to do heavy work, he became a squire. Then he was expected to look after the lord's horses, to clean his armor, to make his bed, to help him dress and undress, to carve at table, and to learn to use the lance, sword, and battle-ax, so he might assist his lord in battles or tournaments. In addition, in the twelfth century he was taught the "gay sciences," which may be defined as the art of making himself an agreeable and amusing companion. These consisted of dancing, singing to his own accompaniment, and playing chess and other games. He had also to master the arts of venerie and falconry. The first was the method of cutting up game, especially deer, so as to get the best results; and different methods were taught in different countries. If he expected to travel — and every ambitious young noble did — it was important for him to learn various languages or dialects and a smattering of the Latin of the Church.

Conferring of Knighthood

If he were wealthy enough, he might, when he had proved his ability, be made a knight. For no one was born a knight. In theory, even the king's son had to achieve knighthood. The ceremony of making a knight might be very simple, especially when performed on the field of battle. The only essential was that some knight should give to the candidate the accolade, a stroke on the neck or shoulder, and declare him a knight. This was inherited from the old German custom of bestowing the arms of

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manhood upon a young warrior. In the twelfth century the Church claimed to have a share in the ceremony of knighthood, and taught that knighthood and priesthood had much in common. The new ideals of chivalry were inculcated partly by the Church and partly by the romances, which were then popular. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was frequently performed on a Church festival. It was sometimes very elaborate, especially in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. While the chief features in the twelfth century were the accolade and "running the quintain," that is, tilting on horseback against a figure stuffed with straw, gradually religious and symbolical practices were introduced. The candidate took a bath as a symbol of purity, "watched his arms" before an altar or the shrine of some saint throughout a night, and confessed. His weapons were blessed by a priest and he had to listen to a sermon emphasizing his duties as a knight. These were that he must be pure, faithful, and honorable, that he must protect the Church, ladies, and all those who were oppressed. His godfather in chivalry gave him the accolade "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." His golden spurs, the peculiar symbol of knighthood, were bound upon him and he ran the quintain. It will be noted that the duties of the knight were mainly those of a vassal; fidelity, bravery, and loyalty.

These were the themes of the early poems of chivalry, such as the "Song of Roland," with which the jongleurs entertained the knights at table. They listened eagerly to the long accounts of the combats, for fighting was their chief occupation and pleasure. Private wars were constant and long protracted. In these wars the knights suffered relatively little — the peasants had to bear the brunt. For in order to conquer an opponent his villages were burned and his fields laid waste to cut off his food supplies. A lord was seldom killed in battle, and when he was captured and put to ransom the cost in the long run fell on the serfs. To check these evils the Church had attempted to establish the truce of God.[1] The number of days included in the truce had gradually increased, until there remained only about eighty days each year on which it was lawful to fight. These attempts had little result, for there was no effective public opinion to execute them. Private warfare continued until checked by the growing authority of the monarchs, who gradually extended the "king's peace" to a peace for the whole kingdom.

Private Warfare

Fortunately, although fighting retained a prominent place in the literature of chivalry, the changing conditions of life brought

[1] See Chapter XVI.

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New Interests, Especially Love

in other themes, particularly love. The association of young people of both sexes at the castles was conducive to this. Women were beginning to have a greater influence on the daily life. Usually a feudal marriage was a matter of business, not sentiment. In the phrase of a medieval chronicler, one fief married another fief. Love did not necessarily play any part in the relations of husband and wife; and now, surrounded by others, each frequently sought elsewhere for the pleasures of love.

Tales Sung by Jongleurs

The jongleurs, who had a keen eye to their own advantage, sang of the themes that they knew would be appreciated best by each particular audience. They had a wide range of choice: the mixture of peoples had brought to the West old tales from the Orient. Stories from Ireland and Wales, northern sagas, old German folk-songs, all contributed. The Biblical and classical tales were not overlooked. The result was a wonderfully rich literature from which we still draw inspiration and to which the poets of the nineteenth century were greatly indebted. It is very valuable to us as a historical source, and the more so because the poets and jongleurs had no sense of historical accuracy; each, like the writers of historical romances to-day, gave to all his characters the psychology of his own age. A Biblical hero or an Attila acted and spoke like a knight of the twelfth century. Except when the plot of the story necessitated the retention of some original feature, the actors in the romances lived in twelfth-century castles and dressed as the knights and ladies would have liked to dress, if they could have afforded it. For there is exaggeration, naturally, in their descriptions, as there is in modern tales of the same general character. The poets sang of the ideals and desires of the age rather than of the actual conditions. Bearing this caution in mind, we can learn much about the castle life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from such poems as "Tristan and Isolde," "Parsival," the "Niebelungenlied," and many of the less well known poems. And the miniatures with which the manuscripts were frequently adorned help us to picture the dress, occupations, and daily life of the age.

Changes in Costume

These were changing. The knights who went on the crusades were no longer content with homespun garments. The merchants were bringing in new stuffs, and the poems are full of references to Oriental fabrics. The ladies vied with the knights in the richness and extravagance of their costumes. Formerly the wife of a noble had had one dress for special occasions, and frequently had inherited this from her mother and expected to pass it on to her daughter. In the twelfth century fashion

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began its despotic sway; the modes changed frequently. Long trains and very full sleeves would be in vogue for a time, and would excite the wrath of the moralists; then entirely different fashions would succeed, without in any way allaying the wrath of the censors of the age. Oriental stuffs were especially in demand, as is shown in the literature by the references to samite, sendal, and camel's-hair.

Banquets

The same change was seen in the banquets. At the beginning of the twelfth century the ideal of a good dinner is shown by the pseudo-Turpin's account of what Charles the Great ate. According to the legend, Charles would devour a quarter of a sheep or a whole goose at a sitting; there is no suggestion of any luxury or refinement in his table fare. The knights continued to be mighty trencher-men, but they demanded more variety and high seasoning with spices. Descriptions of banquets are common in the poems, and show what a large part eating and drinking played in the life of the time. In the great banquet-hall the lord, his family, and his guests of noble rank sat on a dais at a high table, while the other inmates of the castle and the guests of lower degree were seated at the long table, below the salt, according to their rank. Wine was drunk freely and frequently. The cup went around the table, each drinking from it in turn. The banquets were long and protracted, and enlivened by song and tale.

Extravagance

These new needs and tastes were expensive. Nobles had a contempt for thrift, and were encouraged in this by the jongleurs, who praised only those who gave freely. Every knight desired to imitate the customs at the great castles. Extravagance was taught as a virtue; the father advised his son, when the latter was starting out on a journey, to "give freely, never be niggardly." The romances described how the knights would throw their purses to beggars or holy men. A stranger knight who stopped at a castle must be received courteously and given new garments by the lord, if the latter lived up to the ideals set by the romances. All of these factors caused a great increase in the cost of living, and consequently the impoverishment of many knights. For their incomes were virtually fixed by custom, as they came mainly from the payments made by the serfs, and these could not be easily increased.

Resort to borrowing money was dangerous, as the rates of interests were very high. In England in the twelfth century, if the security was very good, the usual rate was twopence on the pound each week, compounded once in six weeks; this amounted to about fifty-two per cent. a year. If the security was

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not so good, the rate might be threepence or fourpence on the pound each week, that is respectively eighty per cent. or one hundred and twenty per cent. a year.

Usury

Comparatively few Christians were money-lenders, as all taking of interest was condemned as usury by the Church, which taught that the usurer had no chance of salvation unless he resigned all of his ill-gotten gains before he died. Consequently the business of money-lending was mainly in the hands of the Jews. These were protected by the monarchs, who taxed them heavily in various ways. But the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, when they had fallen hopelessly into debt, felt differently. The Jews, who frequently had been leading men in their communities and had enjoyed the respect of their fellow citizens, gradually lost caste. They were persecuted locally at the beginning of each of the first three crusades. The charge of ritual murder was trumped up against them in the twelfth century, and gradually came to be believed. They became unpopular, so that they were expelled from some countries and compelled to wear badges of infamy elsewhere. Their success as money-lenders led to their downfall and to the ghetto life.

Jews

Position of Women

The changing ideals in respect to woman's position in the life of the age may also be illustrated from the literature. Chivalry taught veneration for ladies. This was the period when the worship of the Virgin Mary was being emphasized, and the honor and reverence paid to her reflected luster upon other women. The ladies played a prominent part in the castles and their favor was eagerly sought. To them the minstrels often addressed their lays. One of the curious outgrowths of this age, not to be taken too seriously, was the institution of the so-called "courts of love." These were gatherings of ladies to discuss questions of love and etiquette. Much has been made of these courts and some of their laws have been preserved. In reality they were an anomaly, and are of interest only because they illustrate how strong the new spirit and new interests must have been to give rise to such ideas.

Change in Religious Feeling

Religion, or rather the observance of religious rites, is an ever-present theme in the poems. The knights and ladies go to mass and apparently are very devout. When we study the poems, however, we are frequently aware of the great change that is taking place in their attitude toward religion. In one, Aucassin declares that he does not want to go to Paradise: "In Paradise what have I to do? . . . For into Paradise go none but such people as I will tell you of. There go those aged priests, and those old cripples, and the maimed, who all day

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long and all night cough before the altars, and in the crypts beneath the churches; those who go in worn old mantles and old tattered habits; who are naked, and barefoot and full of sores; who are dying of hunger and of thirst, of cold and of wretchedness. . . . But in Hell will I go. For to Hell go the fair clerks and the fair knights. . . and the stout archer and the loyal man. . . . And there go the fair and courteous ladies, who have friends, two or three, together with their wedded lords. And there pass the gold and the silver, the ermine and all rich furs, harpers and minstrels, and the happy of the world. With these will I go." In another, Isolde by a fraud escapes condemnation in an ordeal and thus eludes the consequences of her guilt. As the story about her shows, the ordeals were no longer useful as a legal agency, because people had ceased to believe that God would punish the guilty and free the innocent who were submitted to this form of test. Many were the devices by which the guilty might undergo an ordeal and yet escape detection. In general, the literature of chivalry, while usually outwardly orthodox and devout, shows the loss of the simple faith of a Roland, and indicates that the knights and ladies were frequently clinging to superstitious forms with little religious feeling. The matter may be summed up by the statement that the rewards of Paradise and the pains of Hell no longer held so prominent a place in the thoughts of the nobles. They were too much interested in this life to spend much time in preparation for the life to come. They had looked upon this world, and "saw that it was good."

CHAPTER XXVII

MONASTICISM

THE lure of this world, which affected so strongly the life of the nobles, had little effect upon many an earnest soul. The centuries that saw the development of chivalry witnessed also a remarkable growth in monasticism. Many new orders of monks were founded, and many thousands of men and women sought a refuge from the world by entering monasteries. For, as has been so often said, the Middle Ages was a period of great contrasts, when many individuals sought to atone for brutal crimes by frightful penances, when men and women fled with loathing from society, from their friends and families, in order to merit an eternal reward through their asceticism and prayers. This movement received a mighty impetus from the preaching of the crusades. Preachers like Peter the Hermit taught the need of repentance, and many who were influenced by them, especially after the first crusade, felt that it was more salutary for them to enter a monastery than to go to the Holy Land. In time this feeling became so common that Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in the thirteenth century, stated that Bernard of Clairvaux had sorted the more worthy from those who were eager to go on the crusade and had sent them into monasteries instead.

Increase of Monasteries

Already in the eleventh century two factors were reshaping monasticism. The first was the influence of the Congregation of Cluny,[1] which showed the importance of union under a common head. This was recognized as so beneficial that later even the Benedictine monasteries, which had had no common bond, no direct relations with one another, were grouped into congregations. Their representatives met in general chapters, and each year two monks were chosen as "papal visitors" to visit each monastery in a congregation. The second factor was the foundation of new monastic orders by men and women who desired to lead a life of greater asceticism than was required by the Benedictine rule. One of the most important features in this rule was its spirit of moderation. St. Benedict had made allowance for human frailty and had sought to lay upon his followers no burden too heavy for them to bear. In the course of time the discipline in many a Benedictine monastery had become lax.

Factors Reshaping Monachism

[1] See Chapter XIII.

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This was true even of Cluny: "it still maintained monastic decencies while not going beyond their demands." Consequently, while most monks in the eleventh century were content to live under Benedict's rule, the more earnest — shall we say, the more fanatical? — preferred to follow the letter rather than the spirit of the rule, and to add to it other regulations that made life more ascetic and to them more holy.

This movement began in Italy, early in the eleventh century, with the foundation of the order of Camaldoli, which was composed of hermits living in detached cells. This order gave effective aid to the popes in their efforts toward reform. A little later the order of Vallombrosa was established. This made an innovation in monastic practice by separating the monks into choir brothers and lay brothers. The latter were those who from lack of education were unable to chant the offices. To them was assigned the rougher work, so that the choir brethren might have more leisure for study, contemplation, and prayer. This division of duties was adopted by other orders. It sometimes led to friction. In the order of Grammont the choir brothers complained that the lay brothers attempted to interfere in spiritual matters, such as the hours for masses, and when not heeded, cut off the supplies. The dispute as to the jurisdiction finally had to be referred to the pope for settlement.

Lay Brothers

The movement to establish new orders soon spread to other countries. In France it resulted in the rise of the order of Carthusians, established toward the close of the eleventh century in the mountains near Grenoble. It was said to demand a more austere mode of life than any other order. Its monks were prohibited from speaking except when speech was necessary. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, gave a description of their life, which reads in part as follows: "Their dress is meaner and poorer than that of other monks, so short and scanty and so rough that the very sight affrights one. They wear coarse hair-shirts next their skin; fast almost perpetually; eat only bean-bread; whether sick or well never touch flesh; never buy fish, but eat it if given them as an alms; eat eggs on Sundays and Thursdays; on Tuesdays and Saturdays their fare is pulse or herbs boiled; on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays they take nothing but bread and water; and they have only two meals a day, except within the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Epiphany, and other festivals. Their constant occupation is praying, reading, and manual labor, which consists chiefly in transcribing books."[2] In spite of this severity — possibly be-

Carthusians

[2] Translation by Abbot Gasquet in English Monastic Life.

cause of it — the order won many converts, both men and women. It spread to Italy, Switzerland, and England. In the last its convents were known as charter-houses, a corruption or misunderstanding of Chartreuse. Its members have boasted, if it is permissible to use such a term, that theirs is the only order that has never been reformed: *Carthusia numquam reformata, quia numquam deformata.*

Cistercians

The Cistercians, a congregation of Benedictines, were founded in 1092 and soon became Cluny's greatest rival. This was due chiefly to two of its members: Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux. The former, although not the founder of the order, was very influential in determining the form of its organization. The most distinctive features were greater strictness and asceticism, the subordination of all its monasteries to the abbot and convent at Citeaux, chapter meetings annually at which the superior in each convent was obliged to be present. The purpose was to assure uniformity in practice throughout the order. Bernard became a Cistercian in 1113. Although Peter the Venerable of Cluny had more than two thousand monasteries under his jurisdiction, Bernard soon came to have greater influence and power, and his order profited by his prestige. He is one of the best examples of what an individual could accomplish in the twelfth century if he were a monk.

Clairvaux

Bernard was of noble birth and had received an excellent education. At twenty-two he became a Cistercian monk and two years later was made abbot of Clairvaux. "Then," says a contemporary, who wrote before the death of Bernard, "the golden age reigned at Clairvaux. There were to be seen virtuous men, who had formerly been rich and honored by the world, now glorying in the poverty of Christ, who were building God's Church at the price of their blood, their sweat, and their fatigue, enduring hunger and thirst, cold, nakedness, persecutions, outrages, and very great anguish, and thus preparing at Clairvaux the ease and peace which this house now enjoys. Believing that they were living not so much for themselves as for Christ and for the brethren who would come to serve God in this place, they thought what they themselves lacked was of no importance, provided they could leave behind them enough to satisfy their brethren and to provide for the necessities of a poverty embraced voluntarily for the love of Christ. When visitors descended from the mountain to Clairvaux and first caught sight of the house, God was manifest, while the silent valley revealed by the simplicity and humility of its buildings the simplicity and humility of the poor men of Christ who dwelt in them. In this valley

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full of men, where no one was permitted to be idle, where every one worked and was busy at the allotted tasks, visitors found in the daytime the silence of night, interrupted only by the noise of labor or at the holy hours when the brethren sang praises to God."

Bernard

Bernard loved to live at Clairvaux, in his narrow, comfortless cell. But there was another side to his nature which drove him forth constantly into the world, to right wrongs, to make peace, to preach. "It has been truthfully said that, of all his miracles, the most surprising was his personality itself, the inconceivable union of two contradictory temperaments; on one side, the monk, according to the ideal of the age, contemplative, mystical, ascetic, who kept his body under almost to its destruction, and seemed to have lost the sense of things material, skirting Lake Geneva a whole day without seeing it, and drinking oil for water; on the other hand, the man of action, the indefatigable preacher, the officious councilor of the high barons, kings, and popes, the real chief of the Western Church, the politician who was extraordinarily busy and active." It was he who healed the papal schism that broke out in 1130. The larger party among the cardinals had elected Anaclete II, while a few had chosen Innocent II. The former got possession of Rome, and Innocent had to flee. Fortunately, he received the support of Bernard, who declared that votes should be weighed, not counted, and he undertook to do the weighing. He succeeded in securing for his protégé the support of the kings of France, Germany, England, Castile, and Aragon, and Innocent's triumph was secured. Although he supported the papacy with all his strength and eloquence, Bernard saw the weaknesses in the position of the pope, and in his so-called "Catechism of the Pope" dwelt upon the dangers and evils that the temporal power and the ambitions of the popes brought to the Church. Few heretics ever wrote more scathingly than did Bernard. But he was interested not merely in the affairs of the Church: to him everything was connected with the cause of religion, and therefore a matter of interest to him. He made peace between the emperor Lothair and the Hohenstaufens; he put an end to civil strife in certain Italian and German cities; in France his influence was very great, at times even greater than that of Suger. He was the preacher of the second crusade, and compelled the emperor Conrad to take the cross in spite of his unwillingness. As Luchaire has written: "St. Bernard governed Christianity in the West from 1125 to 1153 by the mere prestige of his eloquence and holiness; . . . recounting his life would be equivalent

to writing the history of the monastic orders, of the reform movement, of the orthodox theology, of the heretical doctrines, of the second crusade, and of the destinies of France, Germany, and Italy during a period of almost forty years."

Such was the man who had greatest influence in shaping the Cistercian order. He determined that the Cistercian monk should have the least possible contact with the world. In order to avoid dealings with laymen, they were not to establish schools in their monasteries. Their abbeys were usually built in a wilderness far from the cities. The rule of Citeaux forbids the acquisition of churches, villages, serfs, mills, or of anything that might bring with it feudal responsibilities. The monks were to labor with their own hands, cultivating the vineyards and fields, but were not allowed to sell their products at retail. They were also forbidden to perform the duties of priests by officiating in churches. Their life was extremely strict; and their food was limited, and even then usually poorly cooked, as there was no regular cook and each monk in turn prepared the food. In their churches the walls were bare and no ornamentation was allowed. Towers were prohibited, except small wooden ones.

Ideals of Cistercians

The fame of Clairvaux spread rapidly, and many another like Otto of Freising, was attracted to the Cistercian order. It has been calculated that during the twelfth century twenty-two thousand men entered the order. At the end of the thirteenth century, by the most moderate calculations, the order included about seven hundred monasteries for men and a still larger number for women. But by this time the order had changed greatly. Already some of the wonderful buildings, whose beauty now delights our eyes, were being constructed by the Cistercians, for they had departed far from the ideals of their great abbot. Before this time they had obtained control of a large part of the wool trade in England and had become very wealthy. The order's discipline had so declined that it could no longer reproach Cluny for lax living. Its members no longer avoided contact with the world. They had become noted for their improvements in agriculture. They reclaimed waste lands, and were especially skilled in draining marshes. They were successful in breeding cattle, horses, and sheep. They made glass.

Growth of Cistercian Order

At first there were no nuns in the Cistercian order. One of the cardinals, Jacques de Vitry, says that "the weaker sex at the rise of the order could not aspire to conform to such severe rules, nor to rise to such a pitch of excellence." But it is characteristic of the new position women were taking in the twelfth century that they soon claimed a share in this new order. By

Cistercian Nuns

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the middle of the century Cistercian nuns "sewed and span, and grubbed up briers and thorns in the waste places." In the first half of the thirteenth century, Jacques de Vitry says that not only were there Cistercian convents for women in the western countries, but also "in the oriental provinces, in Constantinople and Cyprus, in Antioch, Tripoli, and Acre."

Before the Cistercians admitted women, there had been many Benedictine nuns, usually women of gentle birth. In addition other orders had been founded that included women as well as men. In fact, Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevrault (1096), the earliest of these combined orders, was especially interested in providing a refuge for women. He was the son of a priest and of á priest's daughter, and was intent upon reforming conditions. He became a wandering preacher and converted many. For the repentant men and women who gathered about him he established a home at Fontevrault. In the words of his biographer, Baldric, archbishop of Dol, "the poor were received, the feeble were not refused, nor women of evil life, nor sinners, neither lepers nor the helpless." In accordance with the regulations that Robert made, the men were divided into classes, some for religious services, others for manual labor; "they were to use soft words, not to swear." The women were all to engage in labor. Many eagerly entered the establishment. "Men of all conditions came; women came, the poor as well as those of gentle birth; widows and virgins; aged men and youths, women of dissolute life as well as those who held aloof from men." Robert placed the order under the patronage of the Virgin and made a woman the head. There are said to have been sixty convents of this order in France.

Fontevrault

The foundation of the Premonstratensians was due to a different effort for reform. The clergy who officiated in a cathedral, or those who carried on the services in the various churches of a town, had formerly been grouped into chapters and had led a quasi-monastic life, following the example set by St. Augustine at Hippo. For the maintenance of these clerics, or canons as they were called, a part of the property belonging to the cathedral or to the churches had been divided into portions called prebends, of which each canon held one or more. These prebends had come to be regarded virtually as benefices, and the canons in a wealthy diocese had tended to become feudal nobles. They were often married, and lived much like lords, paying little attention to their religious duties and employing vicars to perform the necessary services. To remedy the scandal caused by these degenerate canons, sometimes monks had been charged

Secular Canons

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with their duties. But this was generally felt to be not fitting. Toward the close of the eleventh century many attempts were made to reform the chapters; but the task was so difficult that early in the following century new orders of canons regular were founded, of which Prémontré (1120) was the most successful.

Premonstratensians

Its founder, Norbert, was a German of noble birth who had entered the Church. He was a kinsman of the emperor Henry V, from whom he received many benefices. The reform movement had made little progress in Germany, where the investiture struggle was still unsettled. But Norbert was suddenly converted, and with great zeal he attempted to convert others. They were deaf to his pleas, and in fact insulted and threatened him. He finally sold all that he possessed and, giving the proceeds to the poor, went to France. There he went about barefooted, preaching, and soon gathered followers. For their abode he chose, in 1120, a home in an unhealthy spot destitute of all natural advantages, which he called Prémontré "from the belief that the Virgin had pointed it out to him." His success was rapid. Crowds flocked to him and donations poured in. Women also came, and double monasteries were established for both men and women. Soon the presence of women raised problems, and a general chapter decided that no more women should be allowed in monasteries where there were men. Later many convents were established for women.

Activities of Canons

The orders of canons attracted many because their activities were so varied. While leading an ascetic life, much like the new orders of monks, they were not so much apart from the world. Some were intrusted with the duties of pastors; some went forth as missionaries; others engaged in philanthropic work. There was a sufficient elasticity to meet the needs of widely different characters. There was ample scope for both those who chose the contemplative life and those who preferred the active. The wealth that was showered upon them enabled them to found hospitals, and also provided opportunity for the brethren especially fitted for administrative duties.

Number of Monks

The contemporaries wondered at the rapid increase in the number of monks. Peter the Venerable exclaimed that "the innumerable multitude of monks covers almost all the lands of France; it fills the cities, castles, and fortified places. What a variety of garbs and customs in this army of the Lord which has taken an oath to live according to the rule, in the name of faith and charity!" Many a similar statement might be cited. It is impossible to make any estimate of the total number,

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and it is unsafe to trust enthusiastic reports, such as the one that ten thousand women joined the Premonstratensian order during Norbert's lifetime, that is, in the first fourteen years. But the number of monks and nuns was very large, especially in France.

It was natural that this example should be followed in the Holy Land, to which so many French warriors had gone. But, because of the conditions in Palestine, the new orders established there took on new duties. Eight French knights associated themselves together to protect pilgrims on their journeys to the holy places. They took the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The king of Jerusalem gave them for their home a part of his palace, which was near the site of the temple of Solomon, and from this they received their name of

Templars

Poor Brothers of the Temple of Jerusalem, or Templars. Bernard of Clairvaux was much interested in their work and gave to it his mighty support. By its rule, authorized at the Council of Troyes in 1128, the order was to include three classes of members: only nobles could belong to the knightly class; free-born men could become sergeants or squires; in addition there were to be clerics for the religious services. Up to this time there had been only the eight original companions. Now they received many recruits and much wealth. The pope gave them the privilege of wearing a red cross. They were given several castles in the Holy Land to guard. Gifts came from western Europe, and privileges were showered upon them as defenders of the Holy Land. This military order, besides fighting valiantly, possessed a fleet of vessels engaged in trade, and maintained a banking business. In the thirteenth century Matthew Paris said that it held seven thousand manors in western Europe.

Even before the first crusade, hospitals had been established at Jerusalem to care for the sick pilgrims. One of these gradually developed into the order of the Knights of St. John. Its

Hospitalers

hospital was still kept up and its seal still showed a sick man lying upon his bed; but, in imitation of the Templars, the members took the monastic vows and devoted themselves to fighting the infidel or guarding castles. They were given property in many countries. They and the Templars were a great source of military strength in Syria, but at times were a hindrance to the king of Jerusalem because they were exempt from all jurisdiction except the pope's. The two orders were frequently hostile to each other. In imitation other military orders were established, especially the Teutonic Knights and various Spanish orders.

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Ideal of Service

The Premonstratensians, Hospitalers, and Templars represent a new ideal that was becoming prominent in monasticism in the twelfth century — the ideal of service. The new orders founded from this time on were more for the purpose of service to others than to give an opportunity to the members to secure their own salvation by a life of retirement from the world, devoted to contemplation and prayer. This key-note of service will be remarked in the orders of Friars in the thirteenth century and in many another. Some interesting twelfth-century examples are the order of Bridge-Builders, founded in 1189, to build bridges in order to make travel easier for others, and the order of Trinitarians, founded in 1197, whose duty it was to redeem Christian captives held as slaves by the Saracens. The first was comparatively limited in its scope, but did much useful work. The second persisted for a long time in its special service, and later transferred its activities to other fields. There were many other new orders founded in the twelfth century, so that some of the leaders of the Church felt that there was a danger in so many different ideals and so many different modes of life. The fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, in one of its canons prohibited the creation of any new order; but this prohibition was not observed.

The services that they performed and the prestige that they enjoyed made the monks very influential. Their influence was enhanced by the wealth of many monasteries, which gave to their abbots high position and great opportunity. The examples of Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux have already been noted. There are many other examples. A few illustrations may be drawn from the well known chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelonde, of which Carlyle made use in his *Past and Present*. A cursory reading of Jocelin's eulogy of the deeds of Abbot Samson of St. Edmondsbury shows, as the author says, that Samson "appeared to prefer the active to the contemplative life, and praised good officials more than good monks." "He caused inquests to be made in every manor belonging to the abbey" of all the annual dues, revenues, and expenses. He had in his gift the presentation to many churches, in whole or in part. When the sum of all the units and fractions is added up, it amounts to more than sixty-five churches and this right of presentation was valued at more than £440. He sold the wardship of a girl who was his vassal to the archbishop of Canterbury for £100, because he "could not obtain possession of her person save with the help of the archbishop." He confirmed the liberties of the burgesses of St. Edmund's for a payment

Wealth of Monasteries

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of £40. In 1193 he took part in the siege of Windsor, "where he appeared in arms with some other abbots of England, and had his own standard. He had there also with him many knights at great expense." His vassals owed him the service of more than fifty knights, although the number was at times a matter of dispute between him and his vassals, and he acknowledged service to the king for only forty. He had many controversies and disputes, not only with his own vassals and officials, but also with the kings of England, with the archbishops of Canterbury, with the earl of Clare, with the papal legates, and with the men of London about the payment of tolls at the fair of St. Edmund's. As a mark of his pride it was remarked that he would not give place even to the abbot of Cluny. Besides the wealth that Samson enjoyed, other officials of St. Edmundsbury and the monastery itself had large sources of income.[3]

Incentives to Enter Monasteries

These examples bring out the worldly cares of one abbot. Many another was more occupied in the administration of the temporal affairs of his convent than in maintaining the monastic discipline. For wealth had brought relaxation of discipline and had attracted many unworthy men and women to the new orders, as well as to the old. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian monk, in his "Dialogue of Miracles" devotes the first section to the virtue of conversion, that is, to the virtue of becoming a monk. He says that there are many reasons for conversion: "Innumerable are those who are brought to our order by necessity of many kinds, such as sickness, poverty, captivity, shame for some sin, deadly peril, fear or experience of hell's tortures, desire for heaven." He gives examples from his own experience: a noble condemned to death was pardoned on condition that he should enter the Cistercian order, and he says: "I have frequently heard of similar cases;" of a canon at Cologne who was caught stealing and fled to the monastery; of a man who had lost his property and told Cæsarius, "Certainly, if I had prospered in worldly affairs, I should never have entered the order." And he quotes the Gospel: "Compel them to come in, that my house may be filled." Cæsarius confesses his fear that such conversion may not always be lasting. But he writes that "the archbishop of Treves, who was a prudent man and knew well the secrets of our order, was wont to say that it was not usual for boys or youths who entered our order with no burden of sin on their conscience to be fervent."

Many of these monks whose lives were not occupied in labor

[3] See The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelonde, in The King's Classics, translated and edited by L. C. Jane.

suffered from *accidia*. This was one of "the seven chief sins." It may be defined sometimes as spleen, or sloth, or sadness, or despair; but too many different conditions are included under the term to make it possible to give one modern equivalent. It was a mental condition that might result merely in laziness and distaste for the monastic duties, or it might — and frequently did — lead to suicide. It was recognized as one of the commonest temptations to which a monk or nun was exposed. Many fled from their convents on one excuse or another — to study at Paris, to go on a pilgrimage, to visit sick kinsmen; they longed to escape from their prison and to live outside, among men. The number of such monks was a scandal. They frequented the fairs and tourneys and other public gatherings. In vain did the moralists attempt to check this evil.

The spirit of asceticism and the zeal for reform that had actuated the founders had made the new orders powerful and wealthy. Gradually, and in some cases rapidly, the orders had declined in discipline, and their ideals had deteriorated. This is evident from the statements of individual monks, and especially from the reforms repeatedly ordered by the chapters of the various orders. All monasteries, of course, were not so bad, and there were notable examples of services rendered, especially in times of famine. But Guyot de Provins, in his so-called *Bible*, expressed a common feeling in his strictures upon the different orders. Although himself a Benedictine, he satirizes the black monks of Cluny as well as the white-robed Cistercians, the canons of Prémontré and the military orders. He blames the hypocrisy of some, the covetousness and pride of others, the lack of true religion in all. He says: "Chanting and fasting are not what save the soul, but faith and charity."

Criticisms

The same zeal for reform that actuated the founders of the monastic orders had caused the writing of many poems in the vernacular which were intended to teach the Christian virtues, and especially the monastic ones. The earlier poems were usually crude; but, beginning with the *Life of St. Alexis*, there were some of a high degree of literary excellence. The *St. Alexis* was contemporary with the rise of the new orders in the eleventh century. It was a reworking of a Latin life of the saint, but with much greater skill and charm than the original. The poet begins by lamenting the decline in faith and morals. Then he tells how Alexis's father, a wealthy Roman noble, bought as a bride for his son the daughter of a Frankish noble. But Alexis was a monk at heart and did not desire earthly pleasures. immediately after the marriage ceremony he charged his bride

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to take Christ as her spouse, and he fled to the Orient. He gave all that he had to the poor and became a beggar at Edessa. His parents sought for him in vain. Finally Alexis returned home unrecognized, and lived for seventeen years as a beggar in his parents' house, fed by scraps from their table and insulted by their servants. When he was on his death-bed his identity was made known by a miracle, and he received due honor as a saint. But his mother clung to his dead body and cried, "My son, why have you had no pity for us? My son, why have n't you spoken to me even once?" The moral is that the monk must renounce all human ties. Alexis had won heaven and sainthood by his humility and asceticism. Many other tales were written to inculcate these and similar monastic virtues.

Chronicles

The monks were the historians of the Middle Ages. Beginning with brief annals in which they recorded unusual events, such as famines or cold winters, and the death of great men, they gradually expanded their accounts into chronicles dealing with the history of the world from the creation down to their own day. In the larger convents, where kings and nobles were frequent visitors and where the abbots took an important part in the events of the day, the writers were able to gather much information, and their accounts are of great value for the history of their age. Much of the material and many of the quotations in this volume have been taken from monastic chroniclers.

Other Writings

Reference has already been made to the labor of monks as copyists, by which much of the classical literature as well as the writings of the Fathers have been preserved for us. The monks also composed original works in many fields, especially lives of the saints, biographies of other notable men, commentaries on the Scriptures, text-books, and controversial pamphlets. A full list of the subjects on which they wrote would be too long for inclusion here. For the monastery was, before 1200 A. D., the natural retreat for any one who wished to devote himself or herself to study and writing. The modern world owes a great debt to those men and women who withdrew from society to devote their lives to the pursuit of learning and the performance of their monastic duties.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PEASANTS

THE income of the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, was derived mainly from the labor of the peasants. These made up the great bulk of the population, and, if we would understand the life of our ancestors, it is necessary to study minutely the customs of the village, or manor. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get very full information about the peasants before the thirteenth century. The other classes looked down upon them, and it is seldom that they are mentioned in the literature of the day. In the eleventh century a bishop had described the population as divided into three classes: the nobles, who do the fighting; the clergy, who do the praying; and the others, who do the work. More than a hundred years later, an anonymous writer tells of Aucassin's fear when he unexpectedly meets a peasant, and gives the following description of the latter: "He was tall and marvelously ugly and hideous. He wore leggings and shoes of ox-hide wound about with a coarse string to above the knees. He was muffled in a frieze coat, and leaning on a stout club."

Feeling about Peasants

For the thirteenth and following centuries there is much material, especially in England, for the life of the peasants and the methods of agriculture. Often a lord had many manors; and, as the cost of living had increased greatly, it was necessary for him to have as good records as possible of his property, so that he might know how much income he could count upon. Many surveys or "extents" were drawn up, giving a description of the kind, amount, and value of the land, a list of the land-holders on the manor, with the payments and services due from each. The steward was required to keep accounts of all the business done in the manor courts, so that the lord would not be cheated of too large a part of the fines due him. In addition, treatises on the management of manors were written for the benefit of the lords. These and other scattered sources record a multitude of details about the daily life, customs, and organization of the peasants.

Material for Their Life

The village, or manor, was known by different names in dif-

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The Village

ferent countries; but there was a striking similarity in its organization and life. Its origins have been hotly discussed. Without going into this vexed question, it may be noted that a manor had many points of likeness to the Roman villa, already described, but also that some German customs had been introduced. A typical manor of the thirteenth century was not very unlike many a French, Swiss, or German village of to-day. There was a single street, with houses on either side. On the near-by stream or brook was a mill, where the grain was ground. Around the houses extended the fields, which the peasants cultivated. Along the stream there might be some natural meadow-land, where hay was cut. Beyond the fields were the woods or wastes, where pigs roamed and the lords hunted. Since there were very few large towns, almost the whole country was covered with such agricultural units, surrounded and separated by forests. The houses were wretched one-room huts, with a door but no windows or chimneys. A little apart from the village street were the church, with an open space around it, and the manor-house, where the lord or his representative lived. This generally contained three rooms. The principal one was the hall, which was used not only for meals and gatherings but also as a place for the manor court. The table consisted of boards placed upon trestles, and was taken down when not in use. There were a few benches and stools covered with straw cushions, a chair or two, and one or more chests. There was little other furniture in the hall, but on the walls hung agricultural implements and weapons. A second room, the solar, built toward the south, was the parlor. The third was the bedroom, with the bedstead. Usually the only other furniture it contained was a chest or two, for clothing and valuables. There were few, if any, bed-clothes, as our ancestors generally used their garments, especially their cloaks, as a covering at night.

The Villein

The inhabitants of the manor were mostly villeins, that is, unfree men who were under the lord's jurisdiction and held their lands from him. An example from an "extent" will show their status: "Hugh Miller holds one virgate of land in villenage by paying thence to the said abbot [of Peterborough] 3s. 1d." The virgate in this case contained twenty-five acres; more usually it contained thirty. It was the common unit, and the land generally passed as a whole to either the eldest or the youngest son, according to the method of inheritance followed in different sections. To continue the account: "Likewise the same Hugh works through the whole year except one week at Christmas, one week at Easter, and one at Whitsuntide; that is, in each

week three days, each day with one man, and in autumn each day with two men, performing the said works at the will of the said abbot as in plowing and other work. Likewise he gives one bushel of wheat for benseed and eighteen sheaves of oats for fodder corn. Likewise he gives three hens and one cock yearly and five eggs at Easter. Likewise he does carrying to Peterborough and to Jakele and nowhere else, at the will of the said abbot. Likewise if he sells a brood mare in his courtyard for ten shillings or more, he shall give to the said abbot 4d. and if for less he shall give nothing to the aforesaid. He gives also merchet and heriot, and is tallaged at the feast of St. Michael, at the will of the said abbot."[1] The merchet here mentioned was a payment made by a villein when his daughter married, especially when she married a man on another manor. The heriot was a sum due when a villein died; and there was another payment when a son took over his father's inheritance; the latter had some resemblance to the feudal relief. In addition to the amounts mentioned above, of course Hugh had to pay the so-called tithe to the Church.

Other Villagers

Some villeins held half a virgate and did half as much work as Hugh Miller and made half as large payments. Other villeins, and these formed a very numerous class, held less land, frequently not more than two or three acres, and a cottage. These were known as "bordars" or "cottars." In order to make a living they were obliged to work for the more prosperous villeins or the lord. In addition, on most manors there was a village priest, a miller, a smith, who did the necessary work in blacksmithing, and a carpenter, who made the implements. Occasionally there were a few free men, who held land by making an annual payment; slaves were few in number and usually of foreign birth.

Cultivating the Land

The villeins worked together in the two or three great fields into which the agricultural land was divided. The three-field division was the more usual, because under this system 180 acres took no more plowing than 160 under the two-field system, by which one-half was allowed to lie fallow. This was because the fallow land had to be plowed twice each year, while the cultivated land required only one plowing. Each year one of these fields was planted in the autumn with rye or wheat for the making of bread; one in the spring with barley for beer, or else with oats, beans or peas for food for the cattle; and the third was left to lie fallow. This rotation was necessary because they did

[1] Translated by E. P. Cheyney, in Translations and Reprints, Vol. III, No. 5.

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not know how to fertilize the land so that all could be used each year. Each field was divided into acre strips a furlong long and four rods wide, or half-acre strips, equally long but only two rods wide. The strips were usually separated from one another by narrow "balks," or uncultivated strips, on which weeds and brambles grew. Sometimes all the land was not divided into three great fields; there might be three large fields and three smaller ones. Often "the lay of the land" made the latter arrangement more convenient. A part of the manor, the demesne, frequently from one-third to one-half or more of the arable land, was cultivated by the peasants for the lord's immediate use; on the rest they grew their own food. Usually the demesne was included in the three great fields, but sometimes it lay apart. If a villein held a virgate of thirty acres, no two strips of his land lay side by side; ten acres were scattered in each of the three fields. The lords usually had heavy plows, and as the draft animals were of poor quality, eight oxen were required for plowing; in addition the villeins had lighter plows for four oxen. Each villein would furnish an ox or two, according to the size of his holding. They sowed about two bushels to the acre of wheat, rye, beans, or peas, and four bushels to the acre of barley or oats. A fourfold return at harvest was considered a good crop.

The men and women worked together in the fields, all doing the work in the customary manner, with no initiative or change. The prosperity of each depended upon the prosperity of all; if the crops were good, all lived in relative comfort; if too little rain fell, if a tempest or flood damaged the crops, or if a hostile lord laid waste the fields, all suffered. Local famines were frequent because the roads were very bad and there was little sale of produce from one section to another. This made it necessary for each manor to be as nearly self-sufficient as possible. All the food was produced on the manor. The grain was ground in the mill; and the miller, because of his monopoly right, often became the richest of the villeins. Villeins who endeavored to avoid paying tolls by using hand-mills were fined heavily. Pork was the staple meat diet. The hogs roamed the waste under the care of a swineherd, and each villein had a right to keep a number, fixed in accordance with his holding. Chickens and eggs were common, since the hens could pick up most of their own food. Dairy products, especially cheese, played an important part; in the thirteenth century it was reckoned that each cow "ought to yield [annually] milk to the value of four shillings and fourpence," and in addition from May 1

Self Sufficiency

to Michaelmas (September 29), six stones of cheese and at least one stone of butter, besides some more cheese [unestimated] between Michaelmas and Martinmas (November 11). But cows were not numerous. Beef was seldom eaten unless the animals were in such poor condition or fodder was so scarce that it was impracticable to keep them through the winter. Honey was a luxury, used for sweetening.

The leather for boots was tanned on the manor. The clothing was home-spun, and dyed with herbs grown in the garden plots or found in the waste. Sheep were common in England, and furnished the wool that was such an important export. Timber and thatch for the houses were taken from the forests. Villeins also had a right to peat and firewood from the wastes. Thus food, clothing, and shelter were obtained from the manor. The necessary handicraft work was done either by the villagers themselves or by the carpenter or the smith. Each manor formed a parish and had its own priest. The bees furnished wax for candles in the church. The manor had also its court, where offenders were tried, records were kept and made public, and other necessary business transacted. Thus the manor may be described as almost self-sufficient.

Needs

The needs that had to be supplied from outside were very few. Some salt had to be purchased, although it was less used in food then than now. A small quanity of iron was needed to repair the plowshares, to retip the wooden spades, and for a few other purposes. A mill-stone wore out occasionally, and had to be replaced; this might necessitate a trip to the sea-coast, for the best stones were imported from France. When "scab" attacked the sheep toward the end of the thirteenth century, tar was the only remedy known for the disease, and it usually had to be procured from outside the manor. These needs, which as a whole formed only a minor item in the manor economy, were generally supplied at the fairs.[2]

Contact with the World Outside

Because of this self-sufficiency, the manors have generally been regarded as isolated units, whence the peasants never emerged. But their isolation has been exaggerated. There was contact from manor to manor, as is proved by the frequency of fines paid for the women who married outside the manor to which they belonged. Moreover, there were some glimpses of the larger world obtained in the peasants' duty of "carrying." According to a usual computation, three-tenths of the land in England was held by the Church. When a monastery was the "lord" of a manor, much of its share of the produce had to

[2] See Chapter XXIX.

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be carried to the monastery, which was often situated at a considerable distance. The same was true to a lesser degree of the properties held by a bishop. On a manor held by a lay lord the mill-stone had to be fetched; some produce was carried and sold outside, as is proved by the accounts. Every person on the manor who possibly could went to any near-by fair. Many peasants went on a crusade, and some were manumitted so that they might go. An ever-increasing number left to seek a better livelihood in the growing towns. While the population on a manor remained relatively fixed and showed little progress, these facts were due in part to the escape of the more active and enterprising among the villeins.

Treatment of Villeins

This was a great loss to the lord, for the value of the manor depended mainly upon its being well stocked with laborers. Consequently the lords were obliged to treat their villeins well. While by the strict letter of the customs the lord might tax his serfs *à merci*, i. e., as much as he pleased, it did not pay to do so. He was governed mainly by "customs," and the villeins did not often have to complain of arbitrary increases in payments. On the other hand, the lords would insist upon their customary rights; and, if one villein died or defaulted in his payment of services, the others might be called upon to make the default good. There was usually a communal responsibility; the villeins as a whole were held to account for the total amount due from all the individuals. They had the right to choose a reeve, a kind of foreman, as their representative. He was responsible for seeing that all the work due to the lord was done; consequently this office was undesirable, and it was sometimes necessary to compel a man to assume its duties.

Lord's Income

The statement about the obligations of Hugh Miller, given above, shows some of the sources of the income that a lord drew from a manor. First, and most important, was the labor due —three days each week. There were also the boon works— extra days of labor due at harvest and other times. With these boon works may be classed the duty of "carrying to Peterborough and to Jakele." In the third place, there were regular payments of money and produce. These payments varied with the different manors. There were also irregular payments, e. g., for heriot, or on the sale of a brood mare. It will be noted that the last item under the account of Hugh's duties is that he was "tallaged at the feast of St. Michael at the will of the said abbot." This opened the door to unlimited exploitation; but, as already indicated, such exploitations did not pay. Probably Hugh Miller and his fellow villeins were tallaged at the feast of St. Michael

according to a well fixed custom, and not arbitrarily, "at the will of the said abbot."

Hugh also had to pay "mcrchet." This, as well as the heriot, would be claimed at a meeting of the court. This court met frequently and did a large amount of business. All the dwellers on the manor were liable to be summoned to assist in holding court; and many matters the body of attendants decided, under the lord or his steward as presiding officer. The court records in many instances were carefully kept, and furnish us a mass of detail concerning the daily life and character of the villagers. In the courts transfers or grants of land were recorded; trespassers punished; fines exacted for making bad ale, for fighting, for not recalling a son who had gone away to school, for lack of chastity, for letting animals roam in the planted fields, for marrying without leave, and for a host of other breaches of "the custom of the manor." If a man was elected to an office, such as ale taster, and did not want to serve, he paid a sum to be relieved. Almost every transaction in the court resulted in a payment to the lord.

Court Fees

The lord had still other means of obtaining money from a manor. There were the payments for monopoly rights, such as the mill or the oven. There was also a chance to sell any surplus from the produce of the demesne land. The accounts that have been preserved show that a manor frequently paid a much larger revenue to the lord than we would expect, when the number of the inhabitants is considered.

Other Sources of Income

It has been estimated that one-fifth of the land in England was held by the crown, three-tenths by the ecclesiastics, and one-half by the lay lords; that there were about fourteen hundred tenants-in-chief and eight thousand sub-tenants. Both the tenants-in-chief and the sub-tenants might be either lay or ecclesiastical lords, and all held land by performing military service. Some held only a single manor, others might hold many. If a noble had several manors, he usually traveled from one to another with his retainers, since it was easier to go to the place where the food was than to have it carried to some place where the lord might be; for the roads were bad, the carts clumsy, the beasts of burden small. Only in the case of ecclesiastical establishments, and to some extent for the king, was it customary to have the food carried off the manor.

Who the Lords Were

The king was constantly traveling from one of his manors to another, with all of his court. The nobles had to do the same. This may be illustrated by the rules that Bishop Robert Grosseteste, about 1240, wrote out for the guidance of the countess of

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Their Peripatetic Life

Lincoln, who had just been left a widow with large fiefs to manage. He counseled: "Every year at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of all your corn, then arrange your sojourn for the whole of that year, and for how many weeks in each place, according to the seasons of the year, and the advantages of the country in flesh and in fish; and do not in any wise burden by debt or long residence the places where you sojourn, but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt, but something may remain on the manor, whereby the manor can raise money from increase of stock, and especially cows and sheep, until your stock acquits your wines, robes, wax, and all your wardrobe; and that will be in a short time if you hold and act after this treatise."

Slow Progress

Although life on a manor usually was narrowly circumscribed by the boundaries of the manor, and the few who escaped did not return, yet there was slow progress. The lords frequently were glad to commute for cash the services that the villeins owed. As food advanced in cost, it became expensive to give the customary meals to the laborers who did the boon works. In the "extents" we find entries like the following: "And he ought to harrow for two days at the Lenten sowing with one man and his own horse and his own harrow, the value of the work being 4d.; and he is to receive from the lord on each day three meals, of the value of 5d.; and then the lord will be at a loss of 1d. Thus his harrowing is of no value to the service of the lord." It paid better to take the money in commutation and to hire regular laborers who did not expect such expensive meals. Moreover, in spite of the efforts of the bailiff and the reeve, the villeins did not do their work well. By custom the day's work was usually limited in time or extent. The day's plowing, for example, could usually be done in a long morning. In the course of time the lord came to prefer a cash payment in place of some of the work, especially that due each week. He more frequently clung to the boon works, but even these were sometimes commuted. This seemed to be becoming more and more customary until the "black death" in 1349, and later, brought a labor crisis.

As has been stated, the conditions that have been illustrated by English examples were much the same throughout western Europe. Yet there were some differences, and some of the literature from southern Germany throws an interesting light upon the status of the farmers there. Of peculiar value in this connection is the poem *Meier Helmbrecht*, which was written by a Bavarian about the middle of the thirteenth century. It

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relates the fortunes of a peasant boy who was ambitious to escape from the drudgery of the home life. The father was a wealthy peasant, who leased a farm, as his father had done before him, The boy, encouraged by his mother and sister, was determined to seek his fortune as a knight. The costume he secured consisted of fine linen clothes, not homespun, ornamented with fur of lambs and goats. He had a "fine jacket, to make which his mother cut up one of her own skirts, and also bought some blue cloth." His shoes were of Cordova leather. But his great glory was in the multitude of buttons that adorned his coat — gilded buttons down the back, silver buttons down the front. "His whole chest is covered with small buttons, yellow, blue, green, red, black, and white. Whenever he dances, these buttons glisten, so that maid and matron follow him with loving glances." His hair fell down on his shoulders in heavy curls, and his cap was a wonderful piece of work, embroidered in silk with scenes from history and romance.

House and Food

His father's house was little in keeping with his fine clothes. It contained only a living-room, with a cellar below and an attic above. There was a large stove, on which some slept, a table, a bench, and a bed, but no sheets. The food was simple: porridge and bread made of rye and oats seem to have been the staples; beer was sometimes to be had.

Attitude toward Nobility and Clergy

Young Helmbrecht left home to become a knight, much against the will of his father, who feared that his son would learn vicious habits. The degeneracy of the knights, their poverty and crimes, are insisted upon throughout the poem. They made their living by robbery and were noted for their brutality. The whole account is notable for the contempt in which the sturdy old peasant holds the nobles of his day. Also, he has no respect for the clergy. He "paid the church his exact tithes, and nothing more; he would not even give a priest a night's lodging."

Neidhart von Reuenthal

By the middle of the thirteenth century some of the farmers in Bavaria were evidently in a very different position from the villeins on an English manor. Their case may have been exceptional, and allowances must be made for exaggerations in *Meier Helmbrecht*. But we have also the poems of Neidhart von Reuenthal. The latter was a poor noble who would live among the peasants and largely at their expense until he had gathered together enough money to spend a time at court. Then he made fun of his former peasant hosts, boasting how much the girls preferred to dance with him and of the jealousy of the young peasants. His poems corroborate many of the impressions gathered in reading "Meier Helmbrecht," and show

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both the fallen prestige of his own class and the relatively advanced position of the peasants whose hospitality he abused. It would be very difficult to imagine an English or French knight living thus familiarly with the villeins or finding similar conditions in his own country.

CHAPTER XXIX

TOWNS AND TRADE

IN every part of the old Roman Empire some towns survived in spite of migrations, sieges, and conflagrations. This was because their sites were easily defensible; some, like Paris, were on islands; others, like London or Winchester or Tours or Leyden, were partially protected by rivers and marshy ground. They were usually on the main routes of trade, and frequently were seats of bishops or favorite residences of kings. In the towns, the merchants found shelter, and some of the arts and crafts were carried on. Because of the difficulties of transportation, the inhabitants had to produce most of their own food, and many were occupied wholly or in part in agriculture. For protection the towns had to have walls; and as it was laborious and expensive to build these, and as it was difficult to defend extensive fortifications, the inclosed space was made as small as possible. Consequently the towns were usually crowded.

Survival of Roman Towns

New towns grew up under the protection of castles, to which the people could flee in time of peril. The needs of the lord of the castle and of his family and followers furnished employment for the skill of artisans and a market for the wares of merchants. When such a castle was a favorite residence of a king or powerful noble, the townsmen prospered. As examples of such foundations, Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Warwick may be cited. When a castle or a fortified town was an important stronghold on a frontier, it was an especially favored resort for merchants both from within and without the kingdom. For this reason Bern in Switzerland and Halle in Saxony grew into important centers of trade. In a similar manner, places where markets were established under the protection of some strong lord frequently attracted a relatively large population; this was true in the case of Magdeburg and Munich. A place that was the seat of a bishopric offered some advantages for trade, especially when it was also a noted shrine to which pilgrims resorted, such as Santiago de Compostella in Spain or Canterbury in England, where men were enabled to make a livelihood by supplying the wants of the pilgrims. Many a village clustered

Growth of New Towns

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about a monastery grew into a town. A medieval proverb says that it is well to dwell under the shadow of the cross. Fulda in Germany, Peterborough in England, and hundreds of other towns derive their origin from the presence of a monastery. Lastly, a village situated near a mine or possessed of some other natural advantage might grow in size until the inhabitants were able to build a wall around it. Some places became towns because of a combination of two or more of these causes. Tours, for example, grew from three nuclei: the king's castle, the bishop's residence, and the monastery of St. Martin. It had been a Roman town; it was on the river Loire, which was a highway for trade; it was easily defensible; and it was a great resort for pilgrims. The two most important factors in the rise or continued existence of a town were the possibility of easy defense and the opportunity for trade.

With the increase of population during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries towns grew rapidly, and there was an opportunity also for new towns to be founded. In the eleventh century some clerics hit on the idea of founding villages and attracting settlers as a method of increasing the value of the lands of the Church. The land was carefully chosen for its fertility, and crosses were set at the four corners of the tract. Streets were laid out at right angles, with a square in the center. Parcels of land were marked out for house-lots and agricultural fields. Then the clerics advertised for settlers, promising in particular the right of asylum. At least one enterprising abbot imported a supply of female serfs to provide wives for the settlers, many of whom might have found it dangerous to leave the asylum to seek wives elsewhere. In the twelfth century the king and the lords imitated this example, and many new cities, *villes neuves,* were founded, a banner taking the place of the four crosses. One account of such a *ville neuve* reads in part as follows: "But the said count knew that he could not have inhabitants if he did not grant them better justice and greater privileges than in any other seignory. Accordingly he advertised through all the country that to those who would come to settle he would grant greater privileges and better justice than to any other men in his seignory. When this became known, first of all, seven men came from Canfranc to settle in the place, and afterwards others came from very many other localities."

Villes neuves

Walls and towers

By the end of the twelfth century the town walls were usually built of stone, with towers at such intervals that each section of the wall could be covered by the archers in two

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adjacent towers. At London round towers forty feet high were built every two hundred and fifty feet; the wall itself was twenty-two feet high, and extended around the town except along the river-front. Its total length, even in the fifteenth century after extensions had been made, was less than two and one-eighth miles, and it inclosed a space of less than a square mile. Ordinarily a ditch was dug outside the wall, unless there was some natural defense, such as a river. Inside the wall was a street extending around the whole circuit, so that defenders might easily get from one part to another. Running through the town from gate to gate, there were usually one or two main streets wide enough for the huge carts that brought in produce to the market-place. Other streets were narrow lanes. Even in Paris the most important streets were only from seventeen to nineteen feet wide; others were from five to ten feet in width; and the space was lessened by projecting houses or by the shops when open. In London the middle of the streets was kept in repair from the income of a special tax, called pavage, levied on carts entering the city. Each householder was required to maintain the foot-path in front of his house at the same level as his neighbor's, and was expected to clear away rubbish. Nothing was to be thrown from the windows into the streets. But keeping the streets clean, as far as it was done, was really due either to the rain, which washed the rubbish down the gutter in the middle, or else to kites, crows, and pigs, which acted as scavengers. Under Edward I a law was enacted that no pigs, except those belonging to St. Anthony's Hospital, should be allowed to run in the streets of London. Any one finding other pigs in the street might kill and keep them. But apparently the law was not observed. The citizens were permitted to keep pigs "within their houses." Later only bakers were to keep pigs, and finally an ordinance was made that "swine, cows, and oxen shall on no account be reared in houses within the city." In cities less advanced than London the pigs were not so restricted, and lived in the streets.

Houses

In the early days houses were built of wood, thatched with straw or reeds. Fires were common and very destructive. In the reign of Richard the Lion-Hearted, the first mayor of London published a building ordinance which required that houses were to have party-walls of stone, sixteen feet high and three feet thick. From the party-walls the wooden framework of the roof ran up to a point, with the gable end toward the street. This building ordinance was not enforced strictly, especially in the poorer quarters, and many old wooden houses remained. The

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roofs were later made of tile, lead, or stone, with gutters to carry the rain into the street. There were few, if any, chimneys until the thirteenth century. Other towns were more backward than London, and did not require that even the party-walls should be of stone. On the ground floor was usually a shop, a room with a large opening at the front, covered by shutters at night. The shutters were divided horizontally, and in the daytime the lower half was let down to form a shelf for the display of goods, while the upper half was raised and fastened to form a shelter for the goods displayed below. On the floor above the shop were the few dwelling-rooms, often shared by more than one family; overcrowding was the rule, for the space in a town was small, and, although houses were built in every possible place, on the city walls, even on the bridges at London and Paris, there were seldom enough houses. There are no accurate figures for population in the Middle Ages. From the amount collected in London by the poll-tax in 1379 it has been estimated that there may have been about 56,000 people living in London. This was after the ravages of the "black death," which swept away a large part of the population. If this estimate is correct, the density of population in London in 1379 was approximately the same as on Manhattan Island in 1905. The overcrowding was certainly greater in London than in New York, because the houses were low, frequently only one story above the ground floor. And London was probably not more crowded than many another town.

Churches

The only open places in medieval towns were around the churches. There, in addition to a cemetery, was usually a plot in front of the church where a market was held. This custom has survived in many European towns. In the larger towns there were many churches, and the parishes were frequently very small in extent. In London, parishes of from two to four acres were common; along the river-front, in a space a mile long and four hundred feet wide, there were eighteen parishes. Fitzstephen, writing in the twelfth century, says that, in addition to Paul's cathedral, "there are also in London and in the suburbs thirteen large conventual churches, besides one hundred and thirty-six lesser parochial ones."[1] In addition there were also by the thirteenth century some hospitals and lazar (or leper) houses; these were frequently outside the town. Three of the

[1] It is interesting to note that, according to this writer, London sent to a muster in the time of Stephen 20,000 armed horsemen and 60,000 infantry. Probably this is an exaggeration.

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churches possessed schools, and some other schools were permitted "upon sufferance."

Life in the towns seems to have been full of zest and interest. People of the same trade lived usually in the same street or lane, and work was done in the open shops. There were many festivals. Fitzstephen has left a lively description of the sports: cock-fighting, football, dancing, bull-and bear-baiting, hawking, hunting, and fun on the ice. In describing the latter he says: "Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice; for, fitting to and binding under their feet the shin-bones of some animal, and taking in their hands poles shod with iron, which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow." A thirteenth-century poem gives an account of the street criers of Paris. At dawn a crier proclaimed that the baths were open and the water hot; then followed others crying fish, meat, honey, onions, cheese, old clothes, flowers, pepper, charcoal, or other wares. The begging friars and members of other orders were everywhere, seeking alms. The public criers announced deaths and any news. Undoubtedly this interesting activity in the towns attracted men from the country then, just as it does now.

Attractions of Town Life

The towns also offered greater freedom. Beginning in the eleventh century, there was a revolution that gradually spread throughout western Europe. It was not everywhere equally successful and it had many different outcomes; but its aims may be defined as, first, securing for a town a special jurisdiction and freer status; second, securing for the citizens the right of self-government to a greater or less degree. The German proverb "*Stadtluft macht frei*" ("City air makes free") was true on the whole, although there were many exceptions, and some cities had much less freedom than others. Usually a charter giving privileges was bought. The lords needed ready money, and frequently sold for a cash payment some of their rights of exploitation by feudal dues. Sometimes, when they realized what they had lost, they were afterward dissatisfied, and attempted to nullify the contract. In France many a "commune" had to fight, sometimes unsuccessfully, to retain the rights it had bought. The word "commune" originally meant that the inhabitants of a town had taken a mutual oath to aid one another, and not to permit a wrong to be done to a fellow-townsman if they could prevent it. It soon came to have a different meaning. Guibert, a twelfth-century abbot, says: "Commune is a new and

Privileges

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detestable word, and this is its meaning: serfs in the future shall make an annual payment to their lord of the rent due him; if they commit any crime they are subject only to a fine, of which the amount is fixed by law; they are entirely exempt from the other payments which it is customary to demand from serfs." The kings of France seldom granted these privileges to towns under their immediate lordship, but were willing to aid other towns to secure such rights. Charters to cities varied greatly in the extent of the privileges granted, and were frequently very indefinite; but on the whole the rights secured usually included commutation of payments to their lord for a fixed sum and the selection of some, at least, of their own officials. A common provision was that any serf who came and lived for a year and a day in a town, without any demand having been made for him by his lord, should be free. In some countries and parts of countries the revolution was relatively rapid, but in many other places the movement was very slow.

Gild Merchant

The towns also offered opportunities for gaining wealth and bettering one's condition. A charter in England usually contained a provision that the town should have a gild merchant. This included those who were engaged in trade, and by the charter they secured a monopoly, so that no one not a member could buy or sell in the town, except under such conditions as the gild might make. Frequently selling of certain foods was not included in the monopoly. Merchants who did not live in the town sometimes secured membership in the gild. In addition to regulating trade, the gild merchant performed many other functions. Gild meetings were accompanied by a feast, frequently called "the drinking," at which every member was expected to be present. At Southhampton, if a member was so ill that he could not attend, he was sent a gallon of wine, two loaves of bread and "a dish from the kitchen." Quarrels and fights among members were settled by the gild and not permitted to go before the lord's court, thus avoiding payment of fines to the lord. The gild was also a mutual benefit society. If a member "fell into poverty or misery," the other members were to succor him. If a gildsman was imprisoned, the officers were expected to procure his release, at the cost of the gild. When a member died, the others attended the funeral, furnished candles, made an offering for the welfare of his soul, and if necessary supported his widow and children. They also gave in charity to the lepers, to the friars, to the poor, and to the sick. If any member bought goods at a bargain, he was obliged to share his purchase with any of his fellows. The name fra-

ternity was often applied to a gild merchant. This institution was not peculiar to England, but existed with very similar customs in other countries.

Craft Gilds

Gradually craft gilds superseded the gild merchant. These were associations of men engaged in the same trade, and their primary object was to make rules for the trade and to keep a monopoly for the members. A craft gild usually made only one thing; for instance, one gild made arrows, another bow-strings, and a third bows. The subdivision of industry was carried to very great lengths, so that in a single town there might be more than a dozen separate gilds making leather or leather products, or a gild might specialize in a single kind of hat, as the peacock-hatters did. We are fortunate in having an account of one hundred of the craft gilds, or mysteries, in Paris, drawn up by an official of Louis IX. The head men in each made a statement as to their organization and rules. There are extant rules of individual crafts in different countries and for different dates, which prove that it is safe to generalize from the statements of the mysteries in Paris. The master workman had to have a house of his own, to know his trade, and to be of good moral character. In some gilds he was allowed to have only one apprentice, but might take a second when the first had nearly completed his term of apprenticeship. This was frequently six years. The apprentice was to be treated as a son, and could appeal to the officials of the craft in case of brutality. His duties were to open and close the shop, run errands, and learn the trade. He was not to be made to wash dishes or tend a baby; the master's wife was not allowed to beat him. At the end of his term he might become a master if he had money enough and could prove his ability as a workman. All work was to be done by daylight, except in the case of gilds that made luxuries for the nobles; these were not restricted as to hours of work. Each craft gild had its patron saint and attended church in a body. Craft gilds acted as mutual aid societies for burials, for the care of widows, orphans, sick, and poor. They also had banquets. They had to furnish men for the city watch. Their special duty was to maintain the quality of the product, but they seldom succeeded in doing this for any long period of time; for, in spite of stringent rules, there were many frauds. Occasionally the mysteries gave a play. Such a mystery play at York consisted of a series of scenes beginning with a representation of the creation of the world and ending with the Judgment Day. The various crafts each had a part; for example, the fishmongers and mariners represented Noah in the

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ark, with his family and animals; the vintners represented the marriage of Cana, where the water was turned into wine.

Markets

Each town had a market, held usually either weekly or semi-weekly, where the products of the town and neighborhood were exchanged. The market was held in the open place around a church. Many authorities have traced the rise of the towns from the privilege granted by the lord to have a market. As a symbol of the right to hold a market, and of the protection that the lord gave to those who came thither, a market cross was erected. Sometimes a glove or other object was hung upon the cross; later the curious figures known as Rolands sometimes replaced the cross. Tolls paid by outsiders who bought or sold in the markets went to the lord who had granted the market privilege.

Fairs

Goods that could not be obtained from the neighborhood were bought at fairs. These were held in many places throughout Europe, usually outside of towns away from the coast. No one could hold a fair without a grant from the king or some other great lord; but such grants were very frequent, especially in England, where there were hundreds of fairs. The most noted in England were at Winchester, Stourbridge, St. Ives, and Boston; in France, the Lendit near Paris and the group of fairs in Champagne. They were usually held annually, but in some places more frequently. The lord who had given the grant erected the necessary booths and policed the fair. He received rent for the booths and tolls on the goods sold. Merchants from distant lands visited the more important fairs, and wares of all kinds were on sale. During the time of the fair all trading elsewhere in the neighborhood was prohibited.

A court was constantly in session; it was called in England "pie-powder," from the French *pied poudré* (dusty foot), probably because justice was administered to all who came, just as they were, without any delay. Crimes committed at a fair were punished with a double penalty. Suits between merchants were decided by "law merchant," an outgrowth of the customs followed by merchants of different lands in their dealings with one another. Contracts made at fairs were held to be especially valid, debts contracted had to be paid at the next fair. Besides the merchants and the customers, minstrels and jongleurs frequented fairs. During the week or the fortnight of the fair there was constant excitement. The people from the surrounding country flocked in, partly to make necessary purchases, but chiefly to see the acrobatic feats or a dancing bear or some other show, and to stroll among the booths.

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Hindrances to Trade

In traveling to and from the fairs merchants met with many hindrances, due to poor roads and lack of bridges. In order to protect themselves from robbery, they usually traveled in bands. But they could not avoid paying the tolls that every feudal lord levied on any merchant entering his land. These were often heavy and exacted arbitrarily. If a vessel was wrecked on the coast of his fief, the lord seized all the goods that were washed ashore, under the right of flotsam, jetsam, and strandage. Frequently the lords were believed to cause wrecks by false signals in order to gain great profit. The same right was extended to include goods capsized at a ford. Another hindrance to trade was the great variety and poor quality of the coins used in different countries. In England the king had the sole right to coin money, but on the continent many lords and many cities had received or usurped this right. In consequence there was no uniformity of size, weight, or composition. Many minters were dishonest. In 1125 Henry I commanded that every one of the mint-men in England should have his right hand cut off. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "And that was all in perfect justice, because that they had undone all the land with the great quantity of base coin that they all bought."

Usury

The economic doctrines taught by the Church have frequently been spoken of as hindrances to trade, and they undoubtedly would have been if the merchants had followed them. The Church condemned all taking of interest as usury, and threatened all usurers with eternal damnation unless they repented and made restitution of their ill-gotten gains. Merchants were lenders rather than borrowers, and paid little heed to the Church's prohibition of interest-taking. The Church's attitude may have contributed to make the rate of interest so high — usually more than fifty per cent. annually — and thus actually have enriched the money-lenders.

Just Price

The Church also taught that no one ought to charge more than the "just price" for anything he sold. The "just price" was the theoretical, objective value of an article, without regard to any consideration of supply and demand. The Church taught that a merchant had no right to make an unfair profit by charging whatever he could get from the buyer. The "just price" of any article would be "such as would cover the just price paid for it by the merchant himself, together with such gain as would secure for the merchant what public opinion regarded as the necessaries of life for a man of his class." For any article made by a member of a craft gild the "just price" would be the cost of the material plus a payment for the time consumed in

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making it, sufficient to enable him to live as the average member of his craft lived. It is needless to say that a merchant was generally reputed to pay little attention to any idea of a just price when he was dealing with a customer. Trade was looked upon by the Church as an occupation in which a man was peculiarly exposed to temptation. This may have had some effect on the attitude of the merchants toward the Church.

Italian Cities

Goods from the Orient were carried to the fairs mainly by merchants from the Italian seaports. These and other Italian towns became wealthy and secured the right of self-government earlier than the cities in the north. After the reign of Charles the Great the emperors were unable to control them. Feudalism never became as strongly established and commerce never died out to as great an extent in the Italian peninsula as in the lands to the north. There was always some trade maintained with the Orient. This was fostered by the crusades, and the towns became wealthy and populous. The lesser nobles frequently resided within the towns and engaged in trade to some extent. They were trained knights and their aid in warfare made the towns stronger. The success of the Lombard League against the Hohenstaufens has already been described.

By 1200 the more important cities had developed a form of democratic government, although the poorer citizens usually had no share in it. By the peace of Constance, in 1183, Frederick Barbarossa had recognized the right of the citizens to elect their own officials. In the thirteenth century the poorer inhabitants, grouped in craft gilds, began to demand a share in the government, and this led to many struggles. The nobles in the cities fought among themselves. Factions known as Guelfs and Ghibellines contended for the control of the city. To escape these evils the cities chose as their chief magistrates, or podestàs, nobles from other cities. Villani says of the choice of the first podestà in Florence in 1207: "But afterwards, when the city had increased in population and in vices, and there had come to be more ill-deeds, it was agreed for the good of the commonwealth . . . that they should invite a gentleman from some other city, who might be their podestà for a year, and administer civil justice with his assessors and judges, and carry into execution sentences and penalties." In this way they sought to secure justice for all and peace within the city. The term of office of a podestà was usually one year or less, but the salary was frequently very large. Neighboring cities were usually at war with one another, as each was trying to extend its territory as widely as possible and to reduce the neighboring towns to

subjection. The constant fighting within and without the city and the great power given to a podestà made it easy for "tyrants" like Ezzelino da Romano or Este or Malatesta to secure the power over a city. But the period when the rule of tyrants was at its height comes after the thirteenth century and consequently is outside the scope of this volume.

The evolution described above did not always follow the same course, not even in all the Italian cities. In fact, in treating of the communal revolution in western Europe, any attempt at generalization is dangerous, for diversity, not uniformity, was the rule. But almost everywhere there was a desire on the part of the citizens to free themselves from the power of their lords, and the spread of revolutionary attempts followed the usual trade routes from south to north. When the merchants carried their wares they also took with them the news of improved conditions in this town or that town, and thus fanned the desire for progress. Cities in southern France and those on the great rivers, such as the Rhine, eagerly followed the example of the Lombard communes. In the north, along and near the Baltic, the cities formed the Hanseatic League for mutual protection and advantage in trade. Just as the Italian seaports had their agents, called consuls, in the important Oriental seaports, so the Hanseatic League established agents in many western cities, even as far distant as Venice. But the period of the greatest importance of the Hanseatic League came later than our period.

Progress in Other Cities

In general, the thirteenth century saw only the beginnings of the importance that the merchants were destined to attain. Yet within this century the rise of this class brought many changes. No longer was it possible for any one to consider only those who did the fighting and those who did the praying as worthy of attention. While the great mass of those who did the work still remained without power and inarticulate, the merchants had secured for themselves an established position in the social order. Knights as a class were becoming impoverished; the merchants were acquiring wealth. Many a noble was glad to marry the daughter of a rich tradesman. The kings were learning to depend more and more upon the cities. St. Louis in his advice to his son said: "Preserve the good towns and the good cities of your kingdom in the estate and liberty in which your predecessors kept them, and if there be anything to amend, amend and redress it, and preserve their favor and their love. For it is by the strength and the riches of your good cities and good towns that the native and the foreigner, especially your peers and your barons, are deterred from doing ill to you. I well

Rise of Merchant Class

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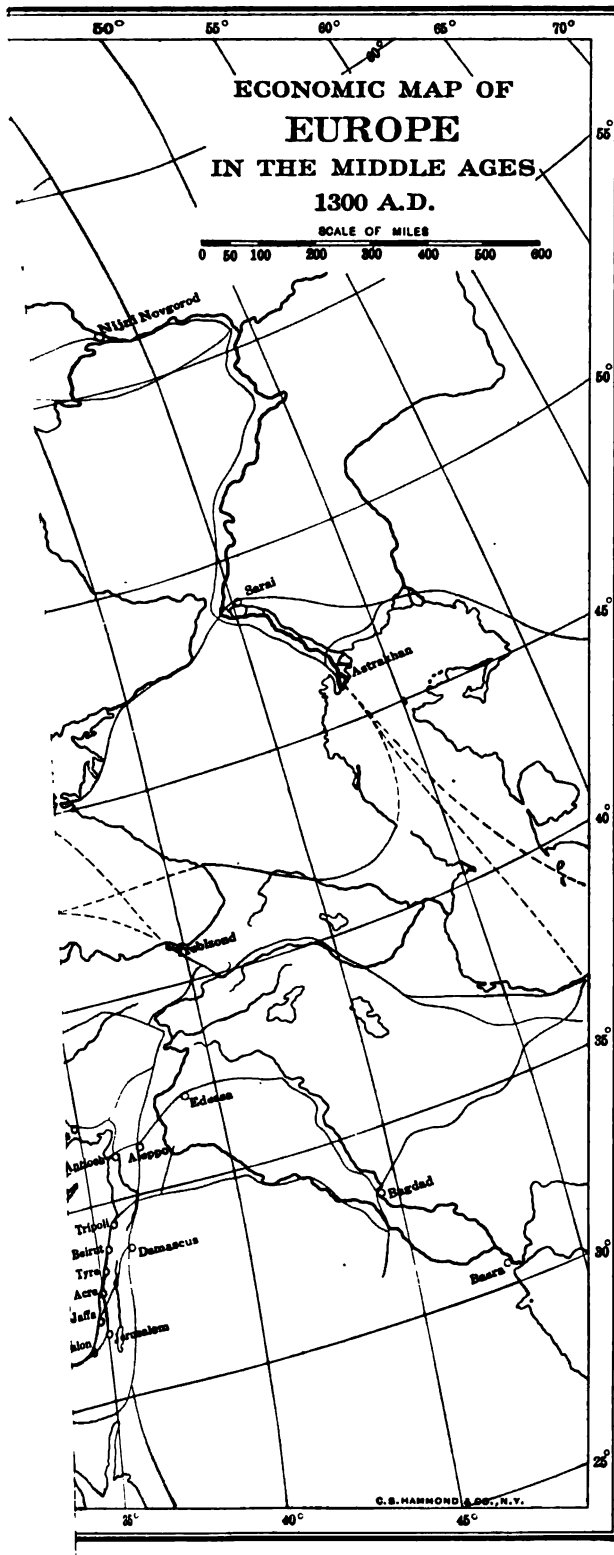
remember that Paris and the good towns of my kingdom aided me against the barons, when I was newly crowned." In England Simon de Montfort sought to gain the favor and support of the towns by summoning their representatives to a parliament, and Edward I, his pupil, gave townsmen a place in the Model Parliament.

Fabliaux

The merchants too, had their literature. For their pleasure jongleurs recited *fabliaux,* or "laughable stories told in verse." These were very realistic and vulgar, their themes often being deceived husbands and immoral clerks; it has been stated that in all the *fabliaux* there is not a single good woman nor a poor priest. Most of them are too indecent to be told at the present day; but as a historical source they are very valuable. They give a detailed picture of the conditions in which the merchants and peasants lived, of the way the houses were furnished, and of a multitude of other details. From them we can also learn something of the ideas of the day. Many of the tales illustrate the way in which the merchants were breaking away from traditional points of view. Some are irreverent, like the story of St. Peter and the jongleur, who shake dice for the souls in hell, or of the villein who gets into heaven by taunting St. Peter and the other apostles with their misdeeds on earth. Some tales are satirical at the expense of the nobles and clergy, to whom the merchants no longer looked up as superior beings. Deceit, cunning, and revenge led to success in the *fabliaux* and were suggested as qualities to be emulated. Their moral tone is on a par with that of *Reynard the Fox,* which was also a favorite tale with the merchant class. The grossness and lack of morality did not prevent these *fabliaux* from becoming popular even with the nobles and clergy, who were influenced by the bourgeois spirit. Moreover, these tales were told in mixed society; many a subject was then freely discussed, even in the presence of women, which would now be taboo. At a later date Chaucer had the *Miller,* the *Reeve,* and other characters tell tales similar to the *fabliaux* while on a pilgrimage and in the presence of ladies.

The rise and influence of the merchants caused a decline in the relative importance of both the nobles and the clergy. The kings favored the merchants because of their wealth and their command of ready money. With the taxes that the merchants paid in lieu of military service the kings hired mercenary soldiers. Philip Augustus by this means was able to maintain a small but efficient standing army, which made him more independent of his noble vassals. Whenever taxes were to be raised or money


ECONOMIC MAP OF
EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES,
1300 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
50°
55°
60°
65°
70°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
Nijni Novgorod
Sarai
Astrakhan
Baghdad
Edessa
Aleppo
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Basra
35°
40°
45°
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Importance of Merchants

borrowed, the merchants had to be humored, and thus they came to have a greater importance in political matters. The position of the clergy was affected by the new attitude on the part of the merchants, who were not as submissive as formerly to the rule of the Church. By their contact with people of other countries holding different religious beliefs, the merchants had lost much of their dread of the Church's censures and means of discipline, and many of them were very irreverent. Heresies spread along the routes of trade. Finally, the merchants felt their own importance; and, as is shown by their literature, they were inclined to ridicule the ideals and pretensions of both nobles and clergy.

CHAPTER XXX

HERESY AND THE FRIARS

CHAP. XXX

Weakening of the Church's Authority

MANY causes contributed to weaken the authority of the Church. The investiture struggle caused the opponents of the Church to dispute its claims to jurisdiction and to condemn its use of excommunication as a spiritual weapon. The new knowledge gained through the crusades led some to question the accuracy of its teachings. The schisms in the Church and the election of anti-popes shook the unquestioning faith of those who were on the losing side. The wealth that the Church was obtaining provoked unfavorable criticism. As Bernard of Clairvaux said, "The Catholic faith is discussed in the streets and market-places. We have fallen upon evil times."

Criticism from Within

Bernard himself was one of the most outspoken in condemning the Church's wealth and her absorption in temporal affairs. He wrote to the pope: "Who will permit me to see before I die the Church of God so ordered as it was in the old days, when the apostles cast their nets to fish for souls and not for gold and silver?" This feeling that the Church was in need of a general reformation was shared by all the more earnest Christians. The rise of the new monastic orders was in effect a condemnation of the laxity of the existing orders. The founding of the Premonstratensian and other orders of canons was, as has been stated, partially due to the feeling that the priests were neglecting their duties. There was a constantly rising tide of criticism within the Church, voicing a demand for a radical improvement in the conduct of its officials. This may be seen in the letters of the popes, the actions of the councils, and the writings of the leading churchmen.

Effect of Disciplinary Action

One disciplinary measure for the enforcement of the celibacy of the priesthood needs especial mention. In 1059 the synod of Rome forbade any one to attend mass when the celebrant was known to have a wife or concubine. Fifteen years later Gregory VII attempted to enforce this and raised a storm of opposition. A very large proportion of the priests were affected, and their parishioners were virtually asked to sit in judgment upon the[m]. Gregory's enemies claimed that he had fallen into the[ir]

heresy that the sacrament is polluted in unworthy hands. Gregory and Urban II insisted that this action was merely a matter of discipline, and did not in any way deny that the sacrament was efficacious to the faithful, even when administered by a priest who was a vile sinner. The general public did not recognize any such distinction, and this disciplinary action of the popes and councils had far-reaching effect, as will be seen in the discussion of the heresies. CHAP. XXX

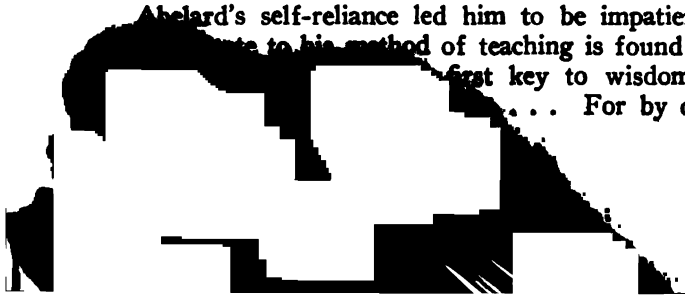
Before taking up the heresies, however, it is necessary to note another influence, which Bernard of Clairvaux considered very dangerous to the Church. This was the teaching of Abelard (1079–1142), who wrote an interesting autobiography under the title *Historia Calamitatum*. We see the eager young noble renouncing his inheritance in order to win applause as a scholar. The art of disputation, or dialectics, was then the favorite study, and Abelard soon became an adept in this. He tells of his victories in the provinces and then at Paris, where he confuted the most celebrated teacher of the day and "dared to aspire to become the head of a school." He was successful. Next he took up the study of theology at Laon under Anselm, the leading theologian of the day, and began to criticise him and his methods. Soon Abelard was lecturing on theology amid the applause of those who had been his fellow-pupils. He returned to Paris, whither students flocked to hear him. When he was thirty-six years old occurred the love episode with Héloïse which has made their names immortal. In writing of it he says: "Considering myself henceforth the only philosopher on earth and having no doubt as to the future, I began to give free rein to my passions, I who had always lived in the greatest chastity. And the farther I advanced on the road of philosophy and sacred learning, the farther I separated myself by the inferiority of my life from the philosophers and the saints. My reputation was then so great, my youthful beauty and the perfection of my figure gave me so great a superiority over other men, that I might have courted any woman without hesitation. Any woman would have considered herself honored by my love, and I had no refusal to fear." His account of the course of his intrigue with Héloïse can be read in his autobiography, where he lays bare his contemptible conduct with the most brutal frankness. The only redeeming feature was the wonderful love of Héloïse for him.

Abelard

Héloïse

Abelard's self-reliance led him to be impatient of authority. [illegible] to his method of teaching is found in the prologue [illegible] first key to wisdom is this — con- . . . For by doubting we are

"Sic et Non"



CHAP. XXX

led to question, by questioning we arrive at the truth." The work consists of one hundred fifty-eight theses. Under each Abelard said: "We have collected diverse statements from the fathers to provoke young readers to seek out the truth with the greatest diligence, and to render them more acute by the search." Abelard made no comments. He merely collected the contradictory views and showed how greatly the authorities disagreed. His theses included important phases of theology and morals: for example, "That God is threefold, and the contrary"; "That sin is pleasing to God, and the contrary"; "That nothing happens by chance, and the contrary"; "That no one can be saved without the baptism of water and the contrary"; "That it is lawful to lie, and the contrary." Naturally, his students' reverence for the authority of the Church would be shaken when they studied such a work and attempted to form their own opinions. The prologue to the *Sic et Non* deprecates any such result. Abelard writes, "Even if the sayings of the fathers do not agree, it is not to be judged that they are untrue. The seeming disagreement may come from our lack of ability to understand them, not from their mistakes."

Abelard's Method

This method that Abelard introduced became the usual one followed in theological works. His pupil, Peter Lombard, in his *Book of Sentences,* collects the different authorities, pro and con. Gratian did the same in his collection for the Canon Law, his *Decretum.* St. Thomas Aquinas lent the weight of his great prestige to the method. But all of these men did one thing more than Abelard did in his *Sic et Non* — after citing the quotations pro and con they gave a solution; Gratian's work was called *Concordantia discordantium canonum.* Thus a new authority was substituted, a result wholly different from Abelard's method in his *Sic et Non* of throwing the discussion open and not telling the students how to solve it. Such an appeal to human reason Bernard rightly judged to be dangerous and likely to provoke doubt.

Other Writings

Equally dangerous from the standpoint of medieval theology were Abelard's *Ethica,* or *Scito Teipsum,* and his dialogue between the philosopher, the Jew, and the Christian. In the first, for instance, he argues that no one sins except when acting against his own conscience; in the second the philosopher urges that it is not necessary to follow the Jewish or the Christian faith in order to be acceptable to God. We need not discuss his more technical writings, which exposed him to condemnation as a heretic. The general character of his teaching made his pupils potential sources of danger to the established authorities.

One of the most noted of Abelard's pupils was Arnold of

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Arnold of Brescia

Brescia, the radical reformer. He taught that the Church ought to live from its tithes and the free gifts of the faithful and ought to confine itself to spiritual functions. After an active career in northern Italy, Zürich, and Swabia, he went to Rome about 1145, and soon became the actual leader of the commune that the Romans had set up. Arnold preached against the greed of the pope and cardinals. Bernard who had written in a similar strain, but supported the Church, while Arnold was undermining its influence, described the latter as "the man whose speech is honey, whose doctrine is poison, whom Brescia has vomited forth, whom Rome abhors, whom France drives to exile, whom Germany curses, whom Italy refuses to receive." Eventually Arnold was seized and executed by Frederic Barbarossa, who wished to gain the pope's support. But his influence lived after him and secret associations were formed of Arnoldistas, or "Poor Men," who held as one of their tenets that the sacraments could be administered only by men of virtue. They were frequently condemned as heretics.

Anti-sacerdotalists

Similar ideas were widespread, especially in France. One of the two great classes of heretics, in which the Arnoldistas would be included, may be termed "anti-sacerdotalists." They thought themselves to be good Christians, and at first opposed only the evil lives of the priests and the worldliness of the Church. They came almost entirely from the lower classes of society. They gathered eagerly about any leader who denounced the abuses that were due mainly to an ignorant and degraded priesthood. Bernard of Clairvaux and many another orthodox churchman ascribe these heresies wholly to the lack of proper teaching and the greed, lust, and crimes of the wolves in sheep's clothing who acted as priests. Almost the only heretical belief that was common to all the anti-sacerdotalists was the Donatist heresy that the sacraments are polluted in unworthy hands.

Tanchelm

Early in the twelfth century, Tanchelm, who may have been a monk, preached reform in Flanders, and eventually made Antwerp his headquarters. In that wealthy city there was only one priest, and he was well known to be leading a vile life. Consequently Tanchelm soon had a large following. All our information about him comes from his enemies and may not be true. It is evident that he did not consider himself a heretic, and probably the pope did not, as Tanchelm went to Rome to ask that changes should be made in the boundaries of the episcopal dioceses in order that the Church might be administered better, and he was allowed to return without any hindrance. But the priests in Flanders and the neighboring lands considered him

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a heretic and told many tales of his alleged false teachings. After one narrow escape he was finally killed by a priest. A decade later his followers were won back to the Church when Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensian order, took charge in Antwerp and his virtuous canons practised what they preached. Then heresy there quickly came to an end.

Eon

In Brittany a little later a heretic named Eon gained a great following, with whose aid he plundered the churches and gave the wealth to the poor. Many of his followers were captured and burned. He himself was clearly insane, and fortunately fell into the hands of Suger, who had him cared for. His insanity took the form of a belief that it was he who was to judge the quick and the dead at the day of judgment. He based this belief upon the Biblical passage: *Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculm per ignem.* He said that *eum* was merely the Latin form of his own name, Eon.

Peter and Henry

About the same time, in the south of France, Peter of Bruys was preaching with great success against infant baptism, transubstantiation, offerings for the dead, reverence for the priesthood, and other articles of the faith. After he had been burned alive many of his followers joined an apostate monk named Henry of Lausanne. The heretics became very bold. The nobles aided them, for they too disliked the priests. Bernard of Clairvaux was summoned to rescue the Church, and according to his biographers had a great success in bringing the heretics back into the fold.

Waldensians

The most important of all the anti-sacerdotal movements was the Waldensian. This took its name from Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons. It is said that one day he stopped in the market-place to listen to a jongleur, who chanced to be telling the story of St. Alexis, and he was so moved by the tale that he determined to imitate Alexis as far as lay in his power. After providing for his wife and daughters he gave the remainder of his wealth to the poor. Then he gave himself up to preaching the gospel. He had the New Testament translated into the vernacular, and studied it eagerly. Soon other men and women joined in his work. They adopted a special costume and took as their name the "Poor Men of Lyons." In vain they sought permission to preach from two different popes and from the Third Lateran Council, in 1179, and finally they were forced into opposition to the Church. They, however, continued to insist that they were good Christians. As far as their conduct was concerned they certainly were; every one bore testimony to their character; they were generally known as the "good people"; but

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in doctrine they had separated themselves widely from the orthodox beliefs. They refused obedience to the authority of the pope and prelates. They held that laymen and even women might preach; that God was to be obeyed rather than man; that masses, prayers, and alms for the dead were of no avail; that prayer anywhere — in bed or in a stable — was as efficacious as in church. The Waldensians were active missionaries, and their faith spread to Aragon, Savoy, Pomerania, Bohemia, and elsewhere.

Manicheans

The second class of heretics were the Manicheans, who believed in the two principles of good and evil and their eternal warfare. St. Augustine had held and then combated this heresy; emperors had persecuted its adherents; but it had persisted in the Orient, and many of its sectaries had been colonized in the Balkans; thence, following the trade routes, it had introduced itself into many parts of Europe. At the close of the twelfth century it was especially strong in Languedoc, where its sectaries were known as Albigenses, or Albigensians, from the town of Albi, one of their strongholds. In other parts of Europe heretics who held similar beliefs were known by very many different names. But elsewhere it was not so dangerous to the Church as in southern France. There feudal anarchy prevented any strong government. The mixed population was very tolerant. The Jews were numerous and held a high social position. Priests were looked down upon; as Innocent III wrote, "Prelates in this region are the laughing stock of the laity." A favorite exclamation to express strong distaste was, "I'd rather be a priest than do that."

Popular Favor

On the other hand, the leaders of the heretics were admired for their virtuous lives and asceticism. They preached in public. They had their own cemeteries, where even Catholics sought to be buried in order that they might be among the "good people." Men traveled, if possible, in company with the heresiarchs, so as to be protected by the reverence that these inspired. Noblemen frequented their society and desired their ministrations when at the point of death. Their success was enhanced by the doctrine they taught. While the leaders, "the perfect," led a very ascetic life, they did not demand such a sacrifice from their followers. The latter, if they had faith, could attain salvation if they received the last rite, the *consolamentum,* from the hands of the "perfect." They taught that there was no purgatory and no hell. They inveighed against the wealth and iniquity of the clergy. They believed themselves to be Christians, asserting that the Catholics had gone astray. While their doctrine was very different from Christianity, they used the Bible to prove their statements. They insisted that the principle of evil had created the world and all

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material things, and quoted texts from the Bible in proof of this. The sacraments that they retained were not fundamentally unlike the Catholic.

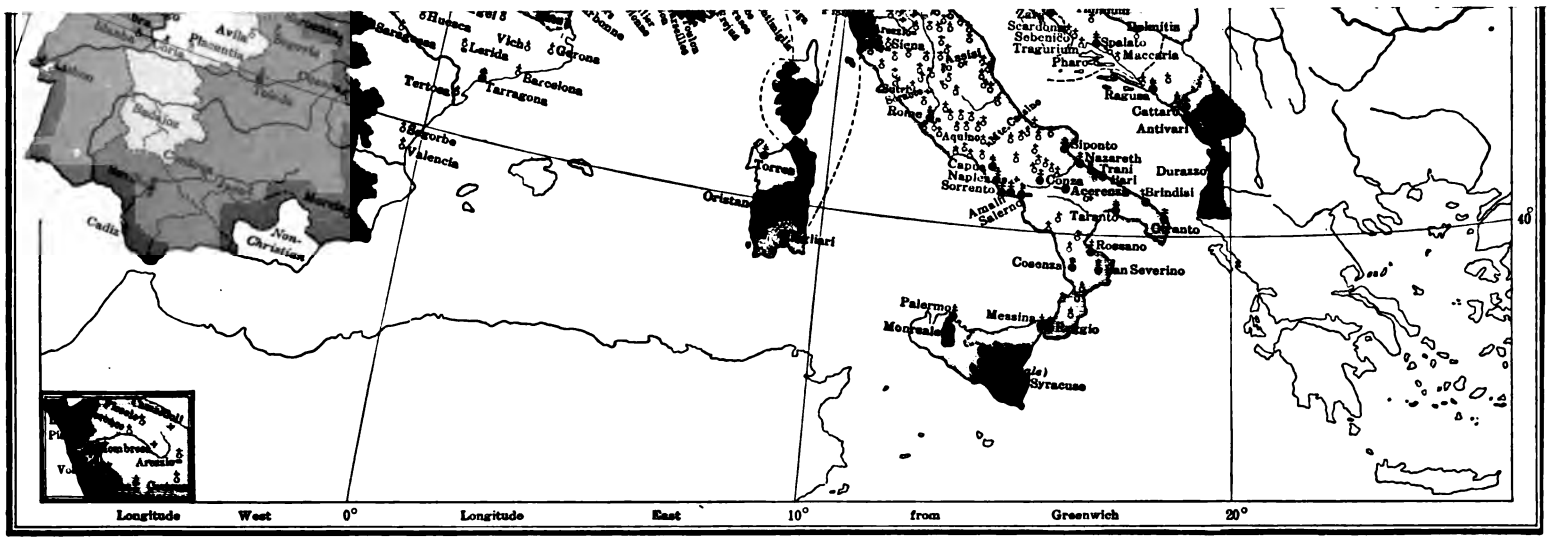
The orthodox Church in Languedoc was too weak to crush them and too degenerate to keep its own adherents firm in the faith. Innocent III wrote of the clergy and of the archbishop of Narbonne: "Blind men, dumb dogs, who are no longer able to bark, and simoniacs who sell justice, who absolve the rich and condemn the poor. They do not even observe the laws of the Church; they accumulate benefices and intrust sacerdotal and ecclesiastical functions to unworthy priests and illiterate children. That is the cause of the insolence of the heretics and the contempt felt by lords and people for God and his Church."

The pope made every effort to stamp out the heresy. He sent legates armed with full power and commanded them to offer to the French king and to nobles who would aid in extirpating the heresy the same plenary indulgence as for a crusade to the Holy Land. The offer was in vain. In 1207 a crusade was preached against Count Raymond of Toulouse, and great privileges were offered to crusaders, but with no result. The murder of a papal legate the following year by one of Raymond's followers finally aroused such indignation that many nobles took the cross and recruits hastened to win the rewards, both spiritual and temporal, that were offered for only forty days' service. The crusade lasted with varying success for several years. The people in the threatened land fought bravely, both Catholics and heretics side by side, in what soon became a war between the North and the South. It was decided by the overwhelming power of the North, and all Toulouse eventually passed to the French crown. The war had been very bloody and in some captured places the whole population had been slain.

Crusade

But the heresy had not been crushed. In order to accomplish this there gradually was formed a new tribunal, known as the "inquisition." Bishops had long been intrusted with inquisitions for heretics in their dioceses. Some had been zealous, but others had neither the inclination nor the knowledge for the task. The spread of heresy in the last quarter of the twelfth century had shown that some other action must be taken if its progress was to be checked. In the first half of the thirteenth century two factors made it possible for the pope to establish a papal inquisition that should work more uniformly and more certainly than the episcopal had done. One of these factors was the enactment of laws against heretics by lay rulers, especially by the free-thinking and frequently excommunicated

Inquisition


Huesca
Lerida
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Gerona
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Valencia
Oristano
Torres
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Traurium
Spalato
Macarsca
Pharos
Ragusa
Cattaro
Antivari
Siponto
Nazareth
Trani
Bari
Durazzo
Brindisi
Aquileia
Capua
Naples
Sorrento
Amalfi
Salerno
Conza
Agerentia
Tarento
Otranto
Rossano
Cosenza
San Severino
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Cadiz
Non-Christian
Longitude West 0° Longitude East 10° from Greenwich 20°
40°

Frederic II, which gave to the Church the support of royal officials in dealing with heretics. The Church had long striven to get this aid, and finally the kings had thought it wise to yield to the pressure. The other was the founding of the mendicant orders, which furnished agents of ability, impartiality, and zeal to carry out the papal decrees. The papal inquisition was gradually evolved, in part with the assistance of the bishops, from the procedure that the bishops had used to seek out heretics; in part by new enactments that eventually made the inquisitors the special papal legates in matters of heresy. But the inquisition did not attain its full development in the period to which this volume is limited.

Before the crusade zealous churchmen had attempted to win back the heretics by persuasion and by preaching the true faith. These efforts never ceased, although during the fighting they were usually of little effect. In 1207 one of the Waldensian leaders in Aragon, Duran de Huesca, had taken part in a disputation concerning the faith, and had been converted from heresy. He, in turn, was anxious to convert others, and founded an order devoted to poverty and good works. Innocent III approved of his plan, and he soon had many followers. They called themselves "Poor Catholics," and practised asceticism. They devoted themselves to preaching, caring for the poor, and helping the sick. The idea spread rapidly, and by 1209 six branches of the order had been established. But, in spite of the pope's support, their work was hindered by the opposition of the clergy and by the spread of intolerance among the crusaders, who preferred to exterminate the heretics rather than convert them. After a few years of work the "Poor Catholics" were no longer prominent. But the spirit that actuated them was destined to bear fruit in the great mendicant orders.

"Poor Catholics"

Among the preachers who were active in Languedoc in the early years of the thirteenth century was Dominic. He was born in Spain in 1170, and had studied for ten years at Palencia before entering the monastic profession. He chanced to accompany his bishop to Languedoc, and soon began to preach in an attempt to convert the heretics. Of his labors we know comparatively little. It is significant that all the miracles related to have been wrought by him were beneficent ones. Dante's characterization of him summarizes the general opinion:

Dominic

> Therein the zealous lover was revealed
> Of Christ's true faith, the athlete consecrate,
> Kind to her friends, to those who hate her steeled.

He established, with the aid of the bishop of Toulouse, a mon-

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astery for women at Prouille, where converted heretics might find shelter and "poor girls of gentle blood" might receive an education. This was soon richly endowed. At the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, Dominic sought and obtained from Innocent III recognition of the fraternity that he had established. At that time there were only sixteen members, but they were picked men from different countries. Six of them were Spaniards; with these were associated not only men from Toulouse, Provence, and Navarre, but also men from England, Normandy, Northern France, and Lorraine.

Dominicans

Dominic and his associates adopted the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustine. They took the name of "Preaching Friars," which Innocent had used in speaking of them. This name denotes their ideals. They were to preach, and, in order to be able to do this, to devote themselves to study, they were to be friars, not monks; to live, not secluded in a convent, but in the busy haunts of men; the world was to be their cloister. In 1217 Dominic sent them forth on their mission. He said: "You are still a little flock, but already I have formed in my heart the project of dispersing you abroad. You will no longer abide in the sanctuary of Prouille. The world henceforth is your home, and the work God has created for you is teaching and preaching. Go you, therefore, into the whole world, and teach all nations. Preach to them the glad tidings of their redemption. Have confidence in God, for the field of your labors will one day widen to the uttermost ends of the earth." Accordingly some went to Spain, some to Paris, and some to Bologna. Their success was very rapid. Four years later, when Dominic died, the order was organized into eight provinces — Spain, Provence, France, England, Germany, Hungary, Lombardy, and Romagnuola, and had sixty convents. It had adopted the vow of poverty and had become a mendicant order.

Activities

The Dominicans' special sphere of activity was in the university towns. They were noted for their learning; and Dominican masters, or professors, in spite of opposition, were soon teaching at Paris, Oxford, Cologne, Montpellier, Bologna, and Toulouse. Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were their most illustrious scholars; Vincent of Beauvais, another Dominican, wrote the thirteenth-century encyclopedia. It was chiefly because of their learning that the inquisition eventually came to be under their control.

Francis of Assisi was younger than Dominic, since he was born in 1182. He was the son of a rich merchant, and as a youth led a joyous life. As a result of a dangerous illness he

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was converted when he was about twenty. Henceforth he devoted himself to poverty and charity. Other men of like mind gathered about him until there were twelve in all. Then they sought the pope at the Lateran Council, in 1215, to have their undertaking confirmed. They fared better than the Poor Men of Lyons had done, and the "Minorites," or "Friars Minor," as they called themselves in their humility, were allowed to begin their work. From the first, Francis insisted upon absolute poverty. The brethren were to labor with their hands, but were not to receive wages in money. They were to take no thought for the morrow, and to give to the poor all that was not absolutely necessary for the day. The rule orders: "The brethren shall appropriate to themselves nothing, neither house, nor place, nor other thing, but shall live in the world as strangers and pilgrims, and shall go confidently after alms. In this they shall feel no shame, since the Lord for our sake made himself poor in the world. It is this perfection of poverty which has made you, dearest brethren, heirs and kings of the kingdom of heaven. Having this, you should wish to have nought else under heaven."

Friars Minor

The success of the order was due to the spirit of Francis, which many of his earliest followers imbibed. He tried to follow the precepts of Christ and to imitate His life; he delighted in sacrifice for the poor, and especially for the lepers, who were the outcasts of society. He loved all created things. He was always gay and at times even playful. Brother Juniper he named "the plaything of Jesus Christ"; the brethren, "the Lord's jugglers."[1] "Is it not in fact true," he said, "that the servants of God are really like jugglers, intended to revive the hearts of men and to lead them to spiritual joy?" He was patient and humble, yet he "possessed an original and well-balanced mind, extraordinary common sense, an iron will, and indomitable courage." In his youth he had wished to be a knight or troubadour: after his conversion he adopted "My lady Poverty" as his mistress, and sang her praises. He was very eloquent and by his preaching swayed men to do his will. Of all the medieval saints he was probably the one who would seem least out of place in the twentieth century.

Success

The growth of the order was astonishingly rapid. It soon spread throughout the civilized world and numbered its members by the thousands. Its spirit was different from that of the Dominicans, and the difference was emphasized by the lapse of years. Yet at first the two mendicant orders were very similar

Growth of the Order

[1] Tolculatores, here and elsewhere translated as jugglers, is an inclusive term for entertainers, players showmen, acrobats gleemen.

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in many respects, and were equally popular. "Wandering onward over the face of Europe, under burning suns or chilling blasts, rejecting alms in money, but receiving thankfully whatever coarse food might be set before the wayfarer, or enduring hunger in silent resignation, taking no thought for the morrow, but busied eternally in the work of snatching souls from Satan and lifting men up from the sordid cares of daily life, of ministering to their infirmities and of showing to their darkened souls a glimpse of heavenly light — such was the aspect in which the earliest Dominicans and Franciscans presented themselves to the eyes of men." Naturally, the people held them in veneration and were anxious to give them great gifts. Many men and women wanted to join one or the other of the two orders. Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans established monasteries for women, and in addition each had connected with it an organization of the laity by which men and women, while continuing their activities in the world, might be associated with the order and to some extent be under its discipline and protection. The Franciscan association was known as the "Brothers and Sisters of Penitence" or as the "Tertiary Order of Minorites"; the Dominicans as the "Militia of Jesus Christ." Many persons of all ranks and ages eagerly enrolled themselves as members. St. Louis of France was a tertiary of St. Francis.

Missionary Work

The mendicants also engaged in missionary work among the heathens and among the schismatic Christians in the East. Francis himself went to Syria to convert the sultan of Babylon, but without success. The Dominicans were successful in converting the Jacobites to the orthodox Catholic faith, and a Franciscan baptized the khan of Tartary. One of the kings of Armenia became "Friar John." Ninety Dominicans suffered martyrdom at the hands of followers of Genghis Khan. In 1258 the pope addressed a bull to the Franciscans "in the lands of the Saracens, Pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, Ethiopians, Syrians, Iberians, Alans, Cathari, Goths, Zichori, Russians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Muscovites, Tartars, Hungarians, and the missionaries to the Christian captives among the Turks." The wonderful missionary work of the Dominicans in America, in Japan and in China, and in many other parts of the world, was a continuation of the activity of their early years.

Special Privileges

The members of the two orders were highly privileged. In 1227 the pope had given them the right to preach, hear confessions, and grant absolution in any parish. A few years later they were made entirely independent of the regular hierarchy.

These privileges provoked much opposition from the bishops and priests, who found in the mendicants dangerous rivals. Their parishioners often preferred mendicants as confessors, and the priests found both their prestige and their revenue diminished; for the early friars won the hearts of all but the priests by their eloquence, by their care for the wretched, and by their exemplary lives. Consequently the opposition of the bishops and priests, and even of the older monastic orders, sometimes became very bitter. But the opposition was in vain as long as the mendicants retained their primitive purity.

Decline of the Orders

Even before Francis died he is said to have predicted divisions within his order because some would not follow the rule of poverty. Soon a distinction was made between the poverty of the individual members and the wealth that was permissible for the communities as a whole. Those who clung to the ideas of Francis were in the minority, and in 1257 Bonaventura, the general of the order, felt it necessary to utter a warning against the greed, idleness, and other vices that had become so prevalent. But some kept to the path shown by Francis, and the founding of the order had led to a real awakening. Francis and his followers had emphasized the dignity of manual labor, the duty of Christians to care for those in want, and the need for reform in the lives of the clergy.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE UNIVERSITIES

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"Grammar"

IN the twelfth century the abbot Guibert wrote: "I see villages and towns fairly burn with eagerness in the study of grammar." Grammar, as he uses the word, included the study of the Latin poets and historians and the art of correct speaking and writing. Chartres was the most important center for this subject, and John of Salisbury, who had been a pupil of Abelard, was the foremost teacher. Yet, in spite of Guibert's statement, John found it necessary to write a treatise in defense of the classics against those who were urging the claims of more practical studies. The arguments used by each side have an interesting resemblance to those with which we have become so familiar in recent times.

Dialectics

The greatest rival of grammar in the schools was dialectics, in the study of which Abelard became famous. As handled by such a master it was believed by many to be the means by which all learning might be mastered. Its popularity was greatly enhanced by the acquisition of writings of Aristotle, which had been unknown in the west of Europe. The interest in this new material for study was intense and the admiration for the author so great that he was generally styled "the philosopher."

Law

A second rival, and in some places a more dangerous one, was the study of law. Roman law was taught in the eleventh century at several schools in southern France and Italy; possibly the most important center for its teaching was Ravenna, where the teachers were on the emperor's side in the investiture struggle. To counteract their influence the countess Matilda wished to establish a school that would take the papal side. Irnerius, her protégé, began to lecture at Bologna on the Pandects toward the close of the eleventh century. He applied the dialectical method to the exposition of the Corpus, and endeavored to secure a better text and to interpret it literally. He had great success, and students flocked to hear him, just as a little later students gathered at Paris to hear Abelard, who was lecturing on the newly discovered portion of Aristotle's logic.

The students who were not natives of the city were exposed

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to many dangers and disadvantages, both while traveling and while residing at Bologna or Paris or any other place. They had to have supplies sent from home, and their messengers were often robbed. If any dispute occurred between them and a citizen, the latter had the advantage in the local court. In 1158, Frederic I granted a privilege "to all scholars who traveled for the sake of study, and especially to the professors of divine and sacred laws. . . . They may go in safety," he said, "to the places in which the studies are carried on, both they themselves and their messengers, and may dwell there in security. . . . In the future no one shall be so rash as to venture to inflict any injury on scholars or to occasion any loss to them on account of a debt owed by an inhabitant of their province. . . . If any one shall presume to bring a suit against them on account of any business, the choice in this matter shall be given to the scholars, who may summon the accusers to appear before their professors or the bishop of the city, to whom we have given jurisdiction in this matter." The last was especially important, as the penalties in the ecclesiastical courts were very light in comparison with those inflicted by lay courts.

Privilege by Frederic I

In the year 1200 Philip Augustus gave a similar privilege to the students at Paris. The grant was the outcome of a riot, followed by a fight between the students and the king's troops, in which the students had been defeated and some had been killed. They were greatly dissatisfied, and there was a probability that they would go elsewhere and that the schools would be deserted. Consequently Philip Augustus condemned his own official, who had put down the trouble, and gave the students full guarantees for the future. The most important privilege that he granted was freedom from arrest by royal officials unless a serious crime had been committed; in that case a student might be arrested but should immediately be handed over to an ecclesiastical judge. The chattels of the students were not to be confiscated in any case.

Privilege from Philip Augustus

In 1231 Pope Gregory IX published a statute that was looked upon as the Magna Carta of the University of Paris. The members of the university were granted the right of making "constitutions and ordinances regulating the manner and time of lectures and disputations, the costume to be worn, the burial of the dead; and also concerning the bachelors, who are to lecture and at what hours, and on what they are to lecture; and concerning the prices of the lodgings or the interdiction of the same; and concerning a fit punishment for those who violate your constitutions or ordinances, by exclusion from your society." "If the

Privilege from Gregory IX

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assessment of the lodgings is taken from you," the pope wrote, "or anything else is lacking, or an injury or outrageous damage, such as death or the mutilation of a limb, is inflicted on one of you, unless through a suitable admonition satisfaction is rendered within fifteen days, you may suspend your lectures until you have received full satisfaction. And if it happens that any one of you is unlawfully imprisoned, unless the injury ceases on a remonstrance from you, you may, if you judge it expedient, suspend your lectures immediately."

Right of Migration

The last point deserves emphasis. By it the right of migration was recognized; that is, if the members of the university felt aggrieved they could leave the city and go elsewhere. It was very easy for them to remove to another city, because the university had no buildings. All lectures were delivered in hired rooms. This custom of migration caused the rise of many new universities. Oxford received a great impetus by reason of the trouble of which the great charter of Gregory IX was the outcome, as of the students who left Paris in 1229 many had gone to Oxford. Later Oxford, in turn, was to suffer from a similar migration. Several Italian universities were founded by such withdrawals of students from Bologna during the thirteenth century.

Armed with these privileges, schools developed their organization rapidly. But the term university was not used for them until much later; it meant originally "the members" of any group, and was applied indifferently to a learned corporation, a gild of artisans, soldiers on a crusade, or any other collective body: the restriction of it in later times to a particular kind of corporation was a mere accident. The original term for an academic institution was *studium*, qualified usually by *generale* or some similar adjective. The addition of *generale* meant that students from other countries were received. Owing to the special privileges granted to such *studia*, a more exact definition became necessary. According to Rashdall, three characteristics were connoted by the term at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century: first, as above, that it should receive, or at least invite, students from all parts; second, that it should contain one at least of the higher faculties; third, that there should be a plurality of masters.

Studium Generale

Two Kinds of Universities

A university originally might be composed of the masters of arts, as at Paris, or of the students, as at Bologna. The masters at Paris formed themselves into a corporation similar to the gilds of artisans. Given the organizing spirit of the twelfth century, this was to be expected. The rise of the university of students may need more explanation. It arose at Bologna from the need

felt by foreign students of association for protection. It was recognized by the municipal authorities, since it was in line with their previous ideas of legal rights and since it also afforded some kind of police control over the unruly students. The professors at Bologna had felt no need of forming an organization. It is significant for an understanding of this corporation of students that, although a native of Bologna was free to attend lectures, he was not allowed to join the university. The students assumed more and more rights until they dictated to the professors, even regarding the subjects they were to teach, the pay they were to receive, and the costumes they were to wear.

Nations

The government of a *studium* was in the hands of a double organization — the nations and the faculties. Students from the same country naturally came together for mutual protection and society. The English students at Paris would form a club. Those who came from a country that had only a few students at the *studium* affiliated themselves with others in like position. Gradually these associations grouped themselves together into a larger or smaller number of "nations." At Paris there were four: "the honorable nation of the Gauls," "the venerable nation of the Normans," "the very faithful nation of the Picards," "the very constant nation of the English." Each was subdivided into provinces, and in a "province" might be included men from many lands; e. g., in the province of Bourges were the Berrichon, Spanish, Italian, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, and Armenian students who might be studying at Paris. At Bologna there were more "nations" than at Paris. Each one of the four at Paris had its own organization and had a key to one of the four locks of the chest that held the university funds, when there were any. The chest could be opened only when representatives of all four nations were present, so that each one of the locks could be unlocked.

Faculties

The faculties varied in the different universities. At Paris there were faculties of liberal arts, theology, medicine, and law; and the same was true of some of the other universities. The importance of the faculties varied at the different universities. In the government of each university, however, the faculty of arts was apt to be the strongest, because a student had to become a master in arts before he could proceed to further study. When he received the mastership he had to take an oath to obey the decrees of the faculty of arts. Consequently that faculty was usually able to control the university. But within the faculty of arts the nations had full control. Usually a rector was elected as the head of the university; in a university of masters, as at

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Paris, he would be a master; in a university of students, as at Bologna, he would be a student. Generally the term of office was short, but the power great; for the time being he represented the university.

The Faculty of Arts

A student had to begin with the course in liberal arts. There were no entrance examinations, but it was necessary to know Latin, the language in which the lectures were given. A student might be of any age; probably most of them were very young, because, according to the statutes, it was necessary to study for at least six years before becoming a master, and no one could be a master before he was twenty. Logic was the principal study prescribed for those who wished for a license to teach. Not one classical author, except Aristotle, was included in the list of required subjects. But the Latin classics were taught and studied at Paris in the first third of the thirteenth century; after that they seem to have been entirely supplanted by the subjects that were considered more practical. The study of a subject that was not prescribed was possible, because the required studies would take only part of the time of a diligent student. Such a student probably attended three lectures a day, each two hours in length. Unless he was wealthy he would not be able to afford to buy parchment on which to take notes, and consequently would be obliged to attempt to memorize the lectures.

When he had studied the required length of time he would go to the chancellor to get permission to be examined. It is probable that the examinations were not a farce, because each student had to take an oath that if he failed in the examinations he would not use a dagger or a knife on the examiner. If successful he might be enrolled in the gild of masters, and he had to promise that he would lecture for at least two years, "unless he was prevented by some good reason." Many never lectured at all, because they were engaged in study in one of the other faculties. Paris was especially noted for its training in the liberal arts, and later Oxford, which owed its importance very largely to the influx of students who came from Paris in 1229, also came to be known for its study of the liberal arts.

The Faculty of Law

Although the study of Roman law was for a time prohibited at Paris, it was carried on with the study of canon law, and seems to have been the more popular of the two. It furnished a ready means of earning a living in the service of some monarch. Some students aspired to the mastery of both the Roman and the canon law; it is significant that our common honorary degree to-day is LL.D. or J.U.D. — Doctor of Laws or Doctor of Both Laws. The canon law was also in high favor at Paris, and second only to

the Roman law. Many students in the law faculty, however, did not aspire to proficiency in the laws themselves, but were content with the more humble but lucrative study of the *ars dictaminis*, or *ars notaria*. This was the form the study of rhetoric had taken, and the *ars dictaminis* may be styled the complete art of letter-writing. At Bologna, in particular, this was a favorite study, and the models used for letters were drawn chiefly from the writings sent out from the papal curia and the imperial chancery. Hence a knowledge of this art was especially useful in law matters and came to be known as the *ars notaria*. Skill in this branch of knowledge fitted a man for a lucrative profession. Bologna was the chief center for law studies, and was probably the first school that can properly be called a university. North of the Alps, Orléans was the most important law school.

The Faculty of Medicine

At the University of Paris the course in medicine was five and a half or six years in length. The text-books were either of Greek or Arabic origin, and Galen was the most famous of the authorities. Students were expected to listen at least three times to the most important of the books. There was little if any dissection of the human body practised in the thirteenth century, and knowledge of human anatomy was gained from text-books or from the study of the anatomy of animals, especially of pigs. "The year 1300 is almost exactly the date for which we have the first definite evidence of the making of [human] dissections, and the gradual development of anatomical investigation by this means in connection with the Italian universities." In the earlier centuries Salerno had been the chief center for medical studies and had numbered among its teachers many noted Mohammedan scholars. It continued to be important after Frederick II had incorporated it with the University of Naples, which he established in 1234. A few years later Frederick II issued a law regulating the practice of medicine in his kingdom of Sicily. This law required that a student, after a general training for three years must study medicine and surgery for three years, must practise under the guidance of an experienced physician, and must have a certificate that he had studied the anatomy of the human body, before he could obtain a license to practise independantly. Montpellier was the most noted medical school north of the Alps. But medicine was a very popular study at other universities, because its practitioners could amass large fortunes. As one of the advocates of the liberal arts, who disliked the attention paid to medicine, wrote: "With the copper and silver which they receive for their poisons, they build them fine houses in Paris"; "she [i.e., chirurgery] has such bold hands that she

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spares no one from whom she may be able to get money."

The Faculty of Theology

In the faculty of theology the book that was most studied was Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*. This received far greater attention than the Scriptures. The course lasted for eight years at the University of Paris, and early in the fourteenth century it was extended to fourteen years. A candidate for the doctorate had to be at least thirty-five years of age. While theology is commonly spoken of as the "queen of the sciences" and the seven liberal arts are termed its handmaidens, the faculties of theology did not enroll a very large number of students in the thirteenth century. Both law and medicine were more popular. A reputation as a canon lawyer might lead to advancement in the Church quite as rapidly as proficiency in theology. Paris was the great center for the study of theology.

Study of Science

Many students never aspired to become masters. Many preferred studies not included in the required curriculum. During the thirteenth century the sciences were probably the favorite subjects. They were usually called mathematics because they were all included in the quadrivium under either geometry or astronomy. These subjects were frowned upon by many of the clergy, and even Abelard called them "nefarious." John of Salisbury said, "mathematicians rashly predict the future"; and "the trivium discloses the secrets of discourse, the quadrivium discloses the secrets of nature." For this reason, the desire "to scrutinize the bosom of nature in its innermost recesses," men studied the sciences. The black art, which was thought of as a branch of mathematics, was taught by adepts from Toledo and Naples. Early in the thirteenth century the nature books of Aristotle were proscribed at the University of Paris, but in 1229 they were allowed to be read at the University of Toulouse and in 1254 they were prescribed in the course in the liberal arts at Paris. Many of Aristotle's writings on scientific subjects came to be known in the West by the middle of the thirteenth century, partly through Arabic translations, partly through translations from the Greek originals. It seems probable that some were brought back after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Devotion to the sciences was condemned by some of the more strict churchmen, but in vain. The students believed that they could master the secrets of nature and they found in the writings of Aristotle a plausible explanation for many of the subjects in which they were most interested and which they most frequently discussed.

Each student was supposed to have a regular master under whom he studied. But he was left almost entirely to his own

devices and there was little or no discipline. Many students were poor, and it was considered a charitable work to furnish them with food and lodging during their course of study. In order to do this colleges were founded. The most noted was the Sorbonne, founded by Robert of Sorbon about 1257. This was a building where the students roomed and had their meals and were under the charge of a master. The students recited their lessons to the master, dined in common, and formed a compact body. The number was restricted to sixteen, who must be masters in arts studying theology. This foundation suited the needs of the times, so elsewhere others followed the example of Robert, and colleges were soon established at all of the leading universities. In most the colleges have disappeared, but the ideal is still preserved in part at Oxford.

Colleges

As there was no discipline maintained for the mass of students, and as they lived wherever they pleased and did as they pleased, the students formed an unruly body. They were not required to attend any lectures. Many of them never took an examination, as there were none except for the license to teach. They were of all ages from twelve to sixty or more. They were from all ranks of society; and those who were noblemen brought in their train numerous retainers. Men from the different nations frequently engaged in battle. "They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects or about some discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds, and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another. They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate, and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians were considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, vicious, and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent, and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands, and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults from words they often came to blows."

Disorders

The students at Paris lived together on the left bank of the Seine, which came to be known as the "Latin quarter." There was great solidarity among the whole body, even if the students from different countries fought among themselves. When there

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was a town-and-gown row, all the students made common cause against the citizens. The latter tolerated and even welcomed the students to the city, because of the money that the students spent; but they never liked them. The students took advantage of their privileges and were often guilty of great excesses. They were impatient of all authority. The documents in the *Chartularium* show that the students were often extremely irreverent. In 1274 masters at the University of Paris had to issue a decree ordering that no student should shake dice on an altar in Notre-Dame while mass was being celebrated. As the masters said in explanation of their action, the custom of dice-shaking on the altar seemed to indicate some heretical pravity.

License

The question of heresy was an important one in the university. In their disputations the students frequently discussed heretical propositions. From time to time the masters were compelled to make a list of certain theses that could not be discussed; but these were discussed in spite of the repeated enactments. Among the errors that were condemned, students were ordered not to debate upon such statements as that "there never was a creation or a first man"; that "all sin is not forbidden"; that "there is no more blessed state than the study of philosophy"; that "all things done on this earth are governed by the heavenly bodies"; that "the world is eternal"; that "matter can not be created."

Errors

Very many of the errors were drawn from the writings of Aristotle. But while some were led away by a study of the works of "the Philosopher," others sought to reconcile the Aristotelian doctrine with the orthodox teachings of the Church. The most noted scholars engaged in this task were two Dominicans, Albert the Great and his pupil, Thomas Aquinas. Each of these men did his most important teaching at Paris, during the reign of St. Louis. Albert attempted to rework the material in Aristotle's writings so that it would be useful to Christians, and to correct it so that it would conform to the dogmas of the Church. Thomas continued Albert's work, seeking to find the literal meaning in Aristotle's writings and, wherever possible, to show that it was not in contradiction to Christian dogma. At times even Thomas found this impossible and was forced to condemn some of the opinions held by "the Philosopher." The *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas is the most important theological work of the Middle Ages, and is still held in the highest honor. Pope Leo XIII wrote in 1899: "Is it necessary to add that the book par excellence in which students may with most profit study scholastic theology is the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas?"

Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas

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Roger Bacon

From Aristotle, too, came much of the inspiration for the study of the sciences. Of these branches Roger Bacon, a Franciscan, stands out as the most conspicuous representative during the Middle Ages. Very unjustly, his reputation has almost eclipsed that of all the other scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who were interested in the natural sciences, although in the latter century there were many such students at the University of Paris. In praise of one, Peter of Maricourt, Bacon wrote: "What others strive to see dimly and blindly, like bats in twilight, he gazes at in the full light of day, because he is a master of experiment. . . . If philosophy is to be carried to its perfection and is to be handled with utility and certainty, his aid is indispensable. As for reward, he neither receives nor seeks it. If he frequented kings and princes, he would easily find those who would bestow on him honor and wealth. Or, if in Paris he would display the results of his researches, the whole world would follow him. But since either of these courses would hinder him from pursuing the great experiments in which he delights, he puts honor and wealth aside." In his writings Bacon insists that truth can be obtained only by observation and experiment. He says: "Experimental science controls the conclusions of all the other sciences; it reveals truths which reasoning from general principles would never have discovered; finally, it starts us on the way to marvelous inventions which will change the face of the world." Bacon's most important works, the *Opus Majus, Opus Minus,* and *Opus Tertium,* were written at the request of the pope. It is interesting to note that Bacon says: "I confess that there are several men who can present to your wisdom in a better way than I can these very subjects of which I treat." In fact, Bacon was not an isolated genius, but one of a considerable number of scholars who were trying to discover "the secrets of nature."

Spirit of Students

The interest in the natural sciences was one indication of the spirit that prevailed in the thirteenth-century universities. Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, in his harsh criticism of the students, charges that "almost all the students at Paris desire to learn or hear something new." This desire caused thousands of young men from all parts of Europe to undergo hardships and dangers in order to be students. Universities sprang up rapidly in Italy, France, England, and Spain. The numbers at these universities can not be ascertained accurately. One contemporary states that there were thirty thousand at Paris. Rashdall thinks that there may have been as many as six or seven thousand at Paris and Bologna; from fifteen hundred to three thousand at

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Oxford; two thousand at Toulouse; and fewer at the other universities.

Popes and Universities

It was very important for the Church to have the support of these universities. The popes placed them directly under papal control wherever possible, and vied with the kings in granting them privileges. They freed them from the control of the chancellor, ordering him to grant to all competent candidates the license to teach. They favored the students even against the bishops. All students north of the Alps were considered members of the clergy, and many of them looked forward to careers in the Church; some rose to the highest ranks, as bishops, cardinals, and popes.

Student Songs

Yet in their songs the students criticized the Church and its officials in the harshest manner. No rank was safe from their gibes. They described the pope and the cardinals as greedy for gold. They ridiculed the monks. Many of their songs are too irreverent to be quoted here. Their parodies of the gospels were outrageous in thought and language. Here, too, the students showed the same license as in their deeds. The songs also portray their favorite amusements. Many have wine as their theme. Drinking was universal even among the "good boys" for whom Robert of Sorbon founded his college. No feast or other celebration took place without a great deal of wine-drinking. The students had none of the amusements and sports that are now common among students, and their free time was spent mainly in fighting, drinking, or wandering about the country. The wandering students formed a very large proportion of the whole number in summer-time. Frequently the courses were planned so as to close at Easter-time, when the weather became warm enough to enjoy life out of doors. Then the students left their unheated damp lodgings, where they had been herded together, and took to the open road. Their songs depict their delight in the month of May and in the country. They sang blithely of the dance on the village green, of the shepherdesses, of the joy and zest in the life of a goliard, or wandering student.

CHAPTER XXXII

INNOCENT III AND THE CHURCH

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Weakness of the Papacy

BEFORE Innocent III was elected, the temporal power of the papacy had been almost completely destroyed. The author of the *Gesta* of Innocent says that the emperor Henry VI "had taken possession of the whole Kingdom of Sicily and the whole patrimony of the Church up to the gates of the city, except the Campagna, and even in the city he was more obeyed than the pope himself." The prefect of Rome had become an imperial vassal. The people of the city had asserted their independence of the pope. After Henry's death the more distant portions of what had been the papal states were held by German counts, who had received them as fiefs. The environs of the city were held either by the local nobles or by the senate elected by the people. In addition, the papal treasury was sadly depleted.

A strong pope was needed, and was found in the person of Lothario Conti. He belonged to one of the most distinguished Roman families and had received an excellent education. He had studied "letters" at Paris and then had gone to Bologna to study law. He was, according to the "Gesta," "eloquent, both in the language of the people and in that of the learned, and skilled in music and singing." When he was only twenty-nine he was made a cardinal. While holding this office he wrote his work *On the Contempt of the World,* or, as it is entitled in the first English edition, *The Mirror of Man's Lyfe, plainly describing what weake mould we are made of.* This book was long popular, and was translated into several languages; but it does not represent the dominant side of Lothario's nature. Later he expressed his own preference when he said, "If the contemplative state is safer, the active is more fruitful; if the former is sweeter, the latter is more profitable. In fertility of offspring the blear-eyed Leah excelled the comely Rachel." On the death of Celestine III, Lothario, although only thirty-seven years of age, was elected pope, and took the name of Innocent III.

Election of Innocent

When crowning Innocent as pope, the archdeacon said, "Take the tiara, and know that thou art the father of princes and kings,

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the ruler of the world, the vicar on earth of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, whose honor and glory shall endure through all eternity."

Innocent's Ideas

This formula was a part of the regular ceremony, but Innocent intended to make the facts correspond to the formula. In his letter announcing his accession to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Innocent wrote that God had caused him "to obtain the most glorious possession to be found among men, the throne of Peter." In other letters he said: "The Lord gave Peter the rule not only over the universal Church, but also the rule over the whole world." "No king can reign rightly unless he devoutly serves Christ's vicar." "The priesthood is the sun, the kingdom the moon. Kings rule over their respective kingdoms, but Peter rules over the whole earth." Many another similar expression might be quoted from Innocent's letters.

States of the Church

The pope's first care was to regain control over the states of the Church; for, as he said, "the patrimony of blessed Peter was his portion, his desirable and magnificent heritage." Immediately after his coronation he forced the imperial prefect of Rome to take the oath of vassalage to him. Then he gradually regained one strong place in the patrimony after another, so that within two years he was recognized as the overlord in the states of the Church as these had been described in the *Donation of Pippin*. But his rule was never fully effective in some parts, and he had to lay an interdict on more than one city to reduce it to obedience. He owed his success partly to his own indomitable energy and partly to the revolt of the Italian population against the German lords whom Henry VI had set over them. Innocent was able to gain much power as the champion of Italian independence. On the news of Henry's death there had been a general rising against his men, so that even his brother Philip had been compelled to flee to save his life.

Innocent and the Empire

Philip was elected emperor, but only by the Ghibellines. The Guelfs elected Otto, son of Henry the Lion. This contested election gave Innocent an opportunity to act as arbiter. Each contestant was anxious to gain his support. For three years Innocent delayed making a decision; then he decided in favor of Otto. The latter had renounced all imperial claims to the patrimony of St. Peter. The papal states, with the boundaries then agreed upon, remained practically unchanged for more than six hundred years. Innocent now did all in his power to support Otto; but gradually the Germans turned to Philip, and Otto steadily lost adherents. After Philip had been murdered by a private enemy in 1208, Otto married Philip's daughter and secured recognition as his successor. He was crowned emperor

-y the pope, but refused to keep his promises; and Innocent, as -as been related already, turned to his ward, Frederic II, who --oon secured the empire. Here we need only recall that Fred- -ric's lack of success as emperor was due mainly to the leagues -f Italian cities, which Innocent had done so much to encourage.

Innocent and the Kings

Innocent lost no opportunity to exert his power over the other kings. We have already described the manner in which Philip Augustus, the most powerful monarch in Europe, was disciplined by the pope.[1] In this case Innocent acted because Philip had violated the marriage sacrament. John of England was excommunicated and finally compelled to become a vassal of the pope.[2] Peter of Aragon came to Rome to be crowned, and made his land a perpetual fief of the Holy See. Sancho of Portugal was forced to place his kingdom under the papal overlordship. Alfonso of Leon was compelled to break off a marriage with his niece. The rulers of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark were submissive to the pope. In the East the Latin emperors of Constantinople and the king of Armenia sought his aid. Finally, it must be remembered that Sicily had long been held as a fief from the papacy.

Innocent and the City of Rome

While Innocent was exercising so great power throughout the Christian world, he was having trouble in Rome. When he was first elected pope the rule over the municipality was exercised by a senator, who represented the people. Innocent succeeded in getting the right to nominate the senator, and the latter took an oath to be faithful to him It is significant of the conditions in Rome that the senator, in his oath to the pope, swore "to guarantee to the cardinals, to their following and to thine, perfect security when they go to church, while they remain there, and on their return." But in Rome there was constant strife between the papal adherents and their opponents. Twice, at least, Innocent was forced to flee from the city. It was not until after he had been pope for ten years that he was able to live in security in the city of Rome.

Innocent's Work

Innocent made the papacy stronger than it had ever been before, and his reign, from 1198 to 1216, marks the apogee of its temporal power. We may take this opportunity to summarize his work, which has been described in this and the preceding chapters. Innocent had restored the temporal authority of the Holy See in the patrimony, and had secured full recognition of his rights from the emperors, so that he is sometimes called "the founder of the papal states." He had encouraged and

[1] See Chapter XXIII.
[2] See Chapter XXII.

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upheld the leagues of Italian cities. He had acted as arbiter between rival candidates for thrones, and had made monarchs his vassals. He had suppressed heresy in the south of France by means of the Albigensian crusade. He had commissioned and favored Francis and Dominic, whose followers were to be so influential in the service of the Church. He had seen the submission of the Eastern empire to the Roman Church, as a result of the Fourth Crusade. He had, through his legate, reformed the course of study in the University of Paris. There is no space to mention the other activities recorded in his thousands of letters.

The Fourth Lateran Council—1215

In 1213 Innocent wrote to all the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, both in the West and in the Orient, ordering them to come to Rome for a council to be held two and one half years later. He said, "Two things I have especially at heart: the reconquest of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church universal." Accordingly, in November, 1215, an ecumenical council was held in the Lateran. More than four hundred bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, and a great host both of the clergy and the laity met to do the pope's bidding. Seventy-one primates, including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, envoys from the emperor Frederic and from the kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, and representatives of Italian cities, were present. "The whole world seemed to be there." The council determined on a new crusade, for which the pope had long been preparing and which he offered to lead in person. The canons that the council enacted covered a wide range of subjects. The Waldensian and Albigensian heresies were condemned, and punishment of all unrepentant heretics was prescribed. In an endeavor to reform the discipline of the Church and the life of its members, the council ordered that the granting of indulgences should be restricted, that bishops should appoint competent men to preach, and should provide free instruction in grammar and theology for poor scholars. It forbade priests to officiate at ordeals or the wager of battle, thus practically prohibiting these two methods of trial, as they were of no effect without the religious sanction. It ordered that Jews and Saracens everywhere should wear a distinctive costume, and that Jews should hold no public office that would give them authority over Christians. Some of the other reforms that it attempted will be mentioned later. This council was the culminating act in Innocent's life. He died the following year.

There was urgent need for the reforms that the council had

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attempted. Innocent's letters and acts are the best testimony to this. He did all in his power to stop the exaction of bribes in the papal curia and to expedite justice. He took personal cognizance of the more importance cases; and yet, against a high official in the Church, even he was not always able to get justice done. Frequently cases dragged on for years. Jacques de Vitry, in describing the members of the curia, says: "All were so taken up with worldly and temporal affairs, with kings and kingdoms, lawsuits and quarrels, that they would scarcely permit a word on spiritual matters." This was just after Innocent's death. Many of the officials did not share Innocent's zeal for reform, as they looked upon an office in the curia merely as a means of earning a living. This is illustrated by the action of the council in prohibiting the extortions that the papal legates had been practising. Under weaker or less conscientious popes the conditions were extremely bad. The curia became notorious for its venality and chicanery.

Need of Reform

Character of Bishops

There were always devout bishops, and it would be easy to draw up a roll of honor that would include many a humble Christian and many an earnest reformer. Yet these did not form the majority, and their efforts were too frequently in vain. The power and wealth that a bishopric conferred caused the office to be sought by ambitious and worldly men. Innocent's characterization of the archbishop of Narbonne has already been quoted. The pope's letters refer to a number of other wicked bishops. At the beginning of Innocent's reign the archbishop of Besançon was accused by his chapter of perjury, simony, and incest, and the charges were apparently true. Yet he retained his bishopric for sixteen years, until he was driven out by the indignant citizens. In 1202 the chapter of the cathedral at Toul appealed to Innocent to depose their bishop. This was accomplished only after eight years, during which the bishop led a life of debauchery and incest. Any one who is curious to learn the depths of iniquity to which these and other bishops sank can find their crimes eloquently condemned in the pope's letters. The evils that Bernard of Clairvaux had denounced still continued, and the office of a bishop was a by-word not only in the mouths of irreverent students and imperial partisans, but also in the invectives of reformers zealous for the Church's good. Cæsarius of Heisterbach quotes a clerk at Paris as saying, "I can believe everything, but I cannot believe that any German bishop can be saved." Again he quotes a monk: "The state of the Church has already come to this — that it is not worthy to be ruled except by reprobate bishops."

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Ecclesiastical Courts

The Lateran council tried to reform the ecclesiastical courts. It ordered that no clerk should extend his jurisdiction to the detriment of a lay tribunal. The confusion between the two kinds of courts has been referred to in preceding chapters. When students and crusaders had been granted the privilege of trial in ecclesiastical courts, these inevitably encroached more and more upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and the orders of the council were of no avail. Equally futile was the canon forbidding clerics to take part in any judgment that entailed the shedding of blood, for bishops had their feudal as well as their ecclesiastical courts. An even worse evil was the venality practised in the ecclesiastical courts, which Innocent so often had occasion to rebuke.

Priests

The council tried to reform the priests and to provide for better service. The bishops were to take care that candidates were properly instructed for their duties. The priests were not to throw dice or engage in similar pastimes. Excessive drinking and frequenting of taverns were prohibited. They were to dress fittingly. They were to celebrate mass frequently and reverentially. The wording of the canons show that these orders were necessary, and these reforms the council ordered for all of the clergy, not merely for the priests. One canon shows the lack of success attained by prohibiting marriage of priests, which had been insisted upon for a century and a half; for it ordained that no son, and especially no bastard, of a priest should succeed his father in office.

Simony and Greed

Office in the Church was too often looked upon as a property right. Any one who had bought a benefice was inclined to exploit it for his own pecuniary advantage. Innocent had declared that "Simony is a disease of the Church which cannot be cured by either mild remedies or fire." The council was especially intent upon mitigating this evil. It recorded the fact that fees were often demanded for the consecration of bishops, the benediction of abbots, and the ordination of clerks. It branded these as simoniacal practices that must cease. It stated that simony had taken such deep root in the monasteries for women that, almost without exception, payment was required before a candidate would be allowed to enter; that many of the clergy demanded pay for the sacraments; that in some places it was the custom that money must be paid for absolution from excommunication. It decreed that, if a ban had been laid for the purpose of extorting money, the money must be given back. It renewed the prohibition against "pluralities," which "had had little effect." Its own action was equally ineffective, and clerks continued to strive eagerly to ob-

tain as many benefices as they could. The council also endeavored to protect the priests against the greed of patrons and bishops who had appropriated tithes. "In some localities the priests are said to receive only one-quarter of one-quarter of the tithes. Because of this, scarcely an educated priest can be found in those localities." But the council was unable to prevent the alienation of the tithes, and had to be content with ordering that the priest must receive "a fitting portion," so that he might be able to live.

Belief in Relics

The council forbade the sale of relics, and ordered that no new relic should be venerated until it had been approved by the pope. There was need for this action. Relics had been venerated throughout the Middle Ages, and were believed to cure the sick and to heal the maimed. They were used to enhance the binding character of an oath. In fact, they were held to be useful for so many purposes, and so many abuses had crept in, that in 1100 the pope forbade any cleric to carry relics about the country for the sake of gain. A few years later the abbot Guibert wrote a remarkable treatise on relics, questioning the genuineness of some. He tells of a head of John the Baptist in the Orient and another in the West, and says: "It is certain on the one hand that there has been only one St. John the Baptist, and on the other hand that no one can say without sin that one man has been able to have two heads." The whole work is an attack upon the manufacture and abuse of relics; but Guibert felt it necessary to console his readers by the assurance that they did not sin when they unwittingly venerated false relics, and that their prayer, if sincere, would be pleasing to God, even if they were deceived as to the sanctity of the person whose intercession they were seeking. Guibert's satirical treatise had no effect upon the general body of Christians. They sought eagerly to obtain relics, especially for their churches or monasteries, which were often enriched by the possession of a portion of a popular saint.

Relics from Constantinople

The number of relics in western Europe was enormously increased after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Villehardouin said that this city contained more relics than all the rest of the world. For centuries, and especially after the Moslem conquests, art treasures and relics had been carried thither for safety and ornament. The crusaders cared little for the art treasures, but were eager to get the relics. In fact, they were less tempted by the magnificent reliquaries in which these were set than by the relics themselves. The most precious was the true cross, which was divided up among the leaders. The total number of relics acquired at Constantinople cannot be even estimated. One abbot obtained for his church more than sixty; among these was a piece

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of the true cross, twelve other relics from places that Christ had hallowed, two of John the Baptist, relics of four of the apostles and twenty of the martyrs, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the "place where the Lord gave the law to Moses." All of these were carried off surreptitiously by the abbot. Many of the relics taken at Constantinople were sold, and such relics often fell into private hands. For a half century after the sack the influx of relics into western Europe continued. Under these conditions many fraudulent relics could easily find a market in the West, for there was great rivalry in securing such treasures. Many sermon stories tell of miracles wrought by relics, even for the ungodly. One tells how two beggars were healed against their will and afterward had to work for their living. Others emphasize the fact that even false relics are efficacious if the owner believes them to be genuine. It is clear that the action of the council had little effect in checking the trade in relics, whether genuine or manufactured.

The Eucharist

This council ordered that the Sacred Host must be kept carefully, lest something unfitting happen to it. This order was soon repeated by other councils, and was necessary because superstitious practices had crept in. Some believed, for example, that the Host, dissolved in water, would protect vegetables from destruction by insects. One sermon story tells how a wicked man tried to entice away all the bees from his neighbors by concealing a Host in one of his hives. The bees actually did come to the hive, relates the story, and there they constructed a little church, and "with the greatest reverence they placed the body of our Lord upon the altar." It is interesting to note in passing that the term "transubstantiation" was first used at this council.

The Devil

The first canon contains a creed carefully formulated to express the differences between Christianity and the heresies of the Albigensians and Waldensians. It declares that the Devil and the other demons were good when created, but afterward became evil. The beliefs then current among many Christians attributed power over material things to the Devil. The sermon stories frequently represent him as employed by saints and the Virgin to work miracles, because of his control over the material universe. For instance, he is ordered to transport a knight from India to France before evening; when a monk and a woman had been detected in theft, demons were commanded by the Virgin to assume the form of the monk and the woman, and thus avert a scandal.

The Virgin

The Virgin is not mentioned in the proceedings of the council. This is surprising, for, as Henry Adams says, "the Virgin filled

so enormous a space in the life and thought of the time." "One cannot realize how actual Mary was, to the men and women of the Middle Ages, and how she was present, as a matter of course, whether by way of miracle or as a habit of life, throughout their daily existence." St. Bernard, Abelard, and many another composed hymns in her honor. It would carry us too far afield to attempt to portray the character of the Virgin as the men and women of the twelfth and thirteenth century conceived it. "How passionately they worshiped Mary, the cathedral of Chartres shows; and how this worship elevated the whole sex, all the literature and history of the time proclaim."

Cathedrals

The age of Innocent III stands midway in the great period of church-building. "According to history," as Henry Adams says, "in the single century between 1170 and 1270 the French built eighty cathedrals and nearly five hundred churches of the cathedral class, which would have cost, according to an estimate made in 1840, more than five thousand millions to replace. Five thousand million francs is a thousand million dollars, and this covered only the great churches of a single century." This expenditure was possible because all the people aided; sometimes all actually joined in the work. "Powerful princes of the world, men brought up in honor and in wealth, nobles, men and women, have bent their proud and haughty necks to the harness of the carts, and, like beasts of burden, they have dragged to the abode of Christ these wagons, loaded with wines, grains, oil, stone, wood, and all that is necessary for the wants of life or for the construction of the church. . . . Often a thousand persons and more are attached to the chariots." This same spectacle had been seen when Suger was building the church at St. Denis. More often, all the people contributed toward the cost of the work; for a cathedral was the result of the effort of a whole community, aided by the feudal overlords.

What actuated the citizens was a combination of religious fervor and the popular desire to outdo some neighboring town. Monarchs, rebellious vassals, gilds of artisans, vied with one another in giving to the Church windows of stained glass or other ornaments. In the twelfth century, to be sure, some reformers, like Bernard of Clairvaux, had frowned upon such expenditures for useless ornament, and the Cistercians had built only plain edifices without towers; but Suger in his enthusiasm for building and adorning the church at St. Denis represented the age far more accurately. Sculpture was pressed, or admitted, into service. The magnificent west fronts and portals of many churches were covered with scenes from the Old and

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New Testaments and from the lives of saints and martyrs. A cathedral with its sculpture and windows became for the illiterate man a great Bible where he could read many a story. These churches bear witness to the same spirit that produced the twelfth- and thirteenth-century poetry and the universities. The daring experimentation with arches and buttresses, the imagination and fancy seen in the carving of gargoyles and other quaint forms, show emancipation from the old bonds and a desire for individual expression.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIAN EUROPE

Ommiads in Spain

THE supremacy of the Ommiads in the Spanish peninsula[1] lasted for about three hundred years. During much of the time the rulers were weak and the Moslem dominion was troubled by the struggles of the different factions and peoples among its subjects. Of these, the Arabs and Berbers were mutually hostile; the "Slav" body-guard, which included Slavs, Franks, Lombards, and others, frequently attempted to play the rôle that had been acted by the pretorian guard at Rome; and the conquered Christians were always a possible source of danger. From time to time a strong ruler reëstablished order and governed wisely. The tenth century was the period when conditions were best, civilization most advanced, and the people happiest. After the death in 1002 of Almansor, the able prime minister, the Ommiads lost their power, and in place of one caliphate a score of independent governments were set up in Moslem Spain.

Rise of Christian States

At the time of the Arab conquest the whole peninsula had been subdued, except a small tract protected by the mountains in the northwest. According to an Arabic chronicler, nothing remained unconquered except a steep mountain on which "Old Pelayo" had taken refuge with thirty men and ten women. "Would to God that the Moslems had then extinguished the sparks of fire which were fated to consume all the dominions of Islam in those lands!" Gradually the hardy mountaineers were reinforced, and began to make raids, occasionally capturing a town or village. The kingdoms of Leon and Navarre were formed in the northwest. Castile was at first merely the frontier of Leon, defended by the castles from which it took its name; as the conquests extended southward the name Castile marched with them. In the northeast was the country of Barcelona, an outgrowth of the Spanish March of Charles the Great, which had become independent because the later Carolingians were too weak to protect it. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Christians in Spain held only the two kingdoms and the two counties.

[1] See Chapter XIX.

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Conquests in the Eleventh Century

The weakness of the Mohammedans was an opportunity for the Christians to extend their conquests. At first Navarre was the strongest of the Christian states, but the king, Sancho the Great, 970–1035, used his position to get control over the other Christian states rather than to wage war on the Moslems. Because of his success he received the title of emperor. At his death he divided his empire among his sons; one getting Navarre; a second, Castile, now made a kingdom; and the third, the territory which was later to be Aragon. For a time the Christians were occupied in fighting one another, but under

Alfonso

Alfonso VI, 1073-1109, king of Leon and Castile, the conquests from the Moslems were very rapid and were frequently the result of alliances between the Christians and Moslem rulers. Madrid was captured and, in 1085, Toledo. The Mohammedans were profoundly moved by the loss of Toledo and in their despair decided to call to their aid their fellow Moslems in Africa.

The Almoravides

There, a fanatical sect of marabouts, or saints, controlled by Berbers from the Sahara, had set up a new dynasty, generally known as the Almoravides. Their leader, Yusuf, landed in 1086 and in a single battle routed the Castilians. He was hailed as the "Emir of Andalous." Fortunately for the Christian cause, he was soon engaged in strife with the other Moslem rulers in Spain, who considered Yusuf and his followers half savage and filled with religious bigotry. The lax and effeminate Moorish rulers were opposed in every respect to these newly converted, zealous, and puritanical followers of the Prophet. The common people, however, welcomed the Almoravides, who abolished most of the taxes. Profiting by these divisions among their enemies, the Christians made further conquests, including Lisbon; but their success was only temporary, as Yusuf, after he had overcome the Moslem rulers, won back the strongholds that the Christians had taken. He died in 1106, and it is said that he was one hundred years old; if this is true, he was eighty when he first went to Spain. By the time of his death his followers were already becoming weak and degenerate, demoralized by the luxuries and vices that they had not known in their desert home. They had lost the support of the common people by their cruelty and arrogance, and by their intolerance and persecutions they had aroused the hatred of the Christians living under Moslem rule. In Africa their rule was threatened by the rise of a new sect led by Berbers from the mountains. Under these conditions the Christians were easily successful in their raids. Their practice was to destroy all the crops and fruit trees, burn the villages, and carry the people away into slavery.

The lands (Castile and Andalusia) over which they fought for generation after generation became impoverished, and these raids contributed to increase the unproductive areas in Spain.

The most noted of all the warriors was a Castilian noble, Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar. By his exploits while still a youth he won the title of *campeador,* or challenger; that is, one who at the beginning of a battle challenges an opponent to single combat. Exiled, he became the leader of a band of freebooters, fighting indiscriminately in the service of Christian or infidel, and plundering indifferently mosques or churches to get booty to pay his followers, Christians and Moslems. The name by which he is best known, the "Cid," or master, is the one that his Moorish followers gave him. The Spanish people have made of him their national hero, and some have suggested his canonization as the national saint. In the literature that has grown up about him, he is represented as the champion of the Christian faith and an exemplar of Christian virtues. The real Cid was a brave, ruthless leader, a true product of his age, and mated with a lady worthy to be his bride. His greatest exploit was the capture of Valencia, which was accompanied by much brutality. Her greatest exploit was the defense of the same city for two years after the death of the Cid, in 1099, and then her triumphant departure with the body of her dead lord. Their deeds are told in the *Chronicle of the Cid,* of which Southey has given such a delightful English version. Although the *Chronicle* is eulogistic and not very accurate, it was written only a half century after the Cid's death, and consequently gives many a detail that reflects the point of view of the twelfth century and enables us to reconstruct much of the spirit of the age.

The "Cid"

The Christians had made great progress in civilization. The nobles no longer stabled their war-horses in their bedrooms with their wives and children. The people no longer dressed in the skins of wild beasts. The nobles were still very poor, making their living mainly by fighting, and ever ready to sell their arms to the highest bidder. The wars between the Christian kings were frequent, and prevented united action against the infidel. This was forced upon them by a new danger. In Africa another sect had arisen — the Almohades, or Unitarians, led by hardy mountaineers from the Atlas. They conquered the Almoravides, first in Africa, and then, in the middle of the twelfth century, in Spain. They defeated the Christians and checked their advance. For sixty years they ruled Moorish Spain from their headquarters in Africa. Then Innocent III succeeded in bringing about union among the Christian monarchs

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in Spain, with the exception of the king of Leon, and also induced many crusaders from other lands to join the Spaniards. Some crusaders had already fought in the Spanish wars. Portugal, which had become a kingdom in 1143, had profited especially by the aid of crusaders, who stopped there on their way to the Holy Land. Lisbon had been conquered with the help of the English in 1147, and had been made the capital of the new kingdom. In 1212 the Christians fought the Almohades at Las Navas de Tolosa, and won a victory that decided the fate of the Moors. "After this fatal day the empire of the Saracens in Spain weakened constantly, and they no longer had any success." The Christians pushed on with their conquests, and a half-century later the Moors held only Granada.

Las Navas de Tolosa — 1212

Granada became very thickly populated, wealthy and prosperous, as the Moors flocked thither from the lands conquered by the Christians. The king of Castile forced the ruler of Granada to pay tribute, but was too busy at home to attempt to conquer the land. In all the Christian kingdoms the people were occupied in adjusting themselves to new conditions. The organization and customs that had been formed during the "perpetual crusade" had to be modified to suit the new needs, and an enormous tract of land conquered from the Moors had to be settled. Barcelona had won an important position in the Mediterranean trade, and commerce was becoming more important and was influencing conditions. Contact with the outside world was reflected in the internal progress in civilization. Cathedrals were built, universities were founded, a literature developed in the vernacular tongue.

Spain in the Thirteenth Century

It was more difficult to build up strong governments. The nobles were divided into *ricos hombres,* owners of vast estates, and *hidalgos,* who were often very poor. All were proud and independent, holding allegiance to their kings very lightly; they could disown a king at any time by a simple notice, and transfer their services to a rival monarch. The clergy were probably more powerful than in any other country. Many cities had been founded as military colonies planted on the frontier, and consequently had received great privileges, or *fueros,* conferring an unusual degree of independence. The cities had learned to associate together in leagues, or *hermandadas,* which could be used as a weapon against all aggressors, even their king. The adjustment in each kingdom was necessarily slow, and was not completed in the thirteenth century. It was hindered by the ambitions of some of the monarchs to play a rôle outside of the peninsula. Alfonso X of Castile, called "the Wise," had himself

elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and clung fondly to the empty title. Peter III of Aragon married the heiress of Manfred, son of Frederic II, and thus eventually secured Sicily. When the inhabitants revolted against the cruel rule of Charles of Anjou, conqueror of Manfred, they turned for aid to Peter. This led to the acquisition, later, of the kingdom of Naples.

The Slavs

The expansion of Christian Europe to the eastward was due mainly to the conversion of the Slavs. Of these people Herder, an eighteenth-century German historian, said, "They hold a larger place on the map than in history." Unfortunately, in one sense this is still true. Too little attention has been paid to their history, and some of the most important problems are still unsolved. Specialists differ even as to the fundamental characteristics of the race; some speak of the Slavs as cowardly, and assert that they have never been able to fight successfully except when under foreign leadership; others call them "brave and enterprising" and "good pirates." Possibly a brief summary of some of the facts in their history may show why either view may be held, according to the prejudices of the writer.

Early History

The original home of the Slavs seems to have been the marshy land about the river Pripet, northwest of Kiev. The nature of the country prevented them from keeping cattle, and their diet was chiefly vegetables and fish. They had many bees, and from the honey they made mead. They grew flax and hemp as materials for clothing. The marshes made it difficult to get from one village to another. In the sixth century Procopius said: "The Slavs live scattered widely in wretched huts, and they very often change their place of abode." He also said: "The Slavs are not ruled by one man, but have lived from the earliest times in democracy." They appear to have had no ability to get together, even for self-defense. Consequently, as they made useful slaves, they were preyed upon by all their neighbors. When the slave-hunter appeared, the Slav fled to the forests or into the water. "Settled in places very hard of access, forests, rivers, lakes, they provide their dwellings with several exits with a view to accidents, and they bury everything that is not absolutely necessary. . . . When they are suddenly attacked, they dive under the water, and, lying on their backs on the bottom, they breathe through long reeds, and thus escape destruction." But many did not escape; the word "slave" is derived from "Slav," as the Slav came to be the commonest and most valuable slave.

In spite of the slave raids, the population increased, and it was necessary for the Slavs to seek homes elsewhere. The

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Extent of Territory

extent of the territory over which they had spread at the end of the seventh century is very remarkable. On the north their settlements extended along the Baltic to west of the Elbe; on the south they had occupied almost the whole of the Balkan peninsula; eastward, from the middle course of the Danube far into Russia, they formed the great bulk of the population. They were divided into many tribes; these were subdivided into clans, which acted together only when some great danger threatened. Their villages were located in the forests on marshy ground.

The Avar Empire

In the sixth century the Slavs were held in subjection by the Avars, a nomadic people who had conquered a temporary "empire" in central Europe. As the Avars could not pasture their animals in the open in the winter, they quartered themselves on the Slavs, whom they forced to build round villages suitable for cattle-pens and to store up fodder for their use. After the Avar empire began to break up, early in the seventh century, a part of the territory formed a Slav state under the rule of Samo, a Frank. When he died, there was no one strong enough to succeed him.

Were the Slavs Valiant

It has often been said that "the Slavs themselves became effective warriors in the cruel Avar school." This has recently been denied; but it is difficult to believe that the Slavs, whom the Greek emperors dreaded and the Germans had such great difficulty in conquering, were not brave warriors. An Arab historian says: "The Slavs are such a powerful and terrible people that if they were not divided into a multitude of tribes and families no one in the world could resist them. The lands inhabited by them are the most fruitful and richest of all, and they devote themselves zealously to agriculture and other kinds of industry, wherein they surpass all other northern peoples." They were able to protect these lands, no small task in the Middle Ages. Yet it is true that, because of their lack of political skill and consequent dissensions, many were long held in subjection by the nomads. From their forced association with these tyrannical guests, who borrowed their wives, the Slavs, who were a fair race with blue eyes and yellow hair, have become a dark race.

Cyril and Methodius

In the second half of the ninth century the Slav ruler of Moravia took advantage of the weakness of the Carolingians to free himself from their yoke, and then brought under his own power all the neighboring Slavs. Thus was formed the Moravian empire. This fell before the attack of the Magyars at the close of the century, but in its brief history one event had

taken place which has had a marked influence upon the Slavonic peoples. This was the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius. Some of the Slavs had already become Christians, but the great mass remained pagans. The ruler of the Moravian empire sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor to ask for help against the Germans. Whether he asked for Christian teachers, as the tradition states, or whether the patriarch, the learned Photius, suggested it, the result was that the brothers Methodius and Constantine (who later took the name of Cyril) went to Moravia and were received enthusiastically. They celebrated mass in the Slavonic tongue, and Cyril invented a script for the Slavonic alphabet and made the first translation of a Christian book into the Slavonic language. Many details connected with his achievements are in dispute, but there is no question of the services actually rendered by the "apostles to the Slavs." Although Moravia soon gave up the Slavic ritual, it was adopted among other Slavs and is still used in the Orthodox Church. "At first the liturgic language was also the literary language," and its influence was long dominant in Russian, Bulgarian, and Serbian writings.

At the close of the ninth century new foes appeared who were destined to have a decisive influence upon the fortunes of the Slavs. These were the Hungarians, or Magyars, whose raids upon the west of Europe have already been mentioned. Some have held that they were of Turkish stock, others that they were of Finnish; probably they were a mixture of these and other peoples banded together for plunder. After destroying the Moravian empire they gradually settled in Hungary. By so doing they drove a wedge between the Slavic tribes. This separation was decisive for the future of the Slavs. Those in the east and south were thrown more and more under the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church and of the Byzantine empire; those in the west under the influence of the Germans and the Catholic Church. The Slavs who remained pagans were conquered. Those on the frontiers were especially exposed to attack from their neighbors. The Slavs along the Baltic were conquered by the Danes or the Germans. Most of those in the Balkan peninsula were absorbed in the Byzantine empire and participated in its fortunes; but the Croatians were annexed by Hungary and the Carinthians became subjects of the Germans. Russia, Poland, and Bohemia developed into important Slav states.

Separation of the Slavs

The Slav state of Russia was formed in the ninth century under the leadership of foreign adventurers, called Rus, and took its name from them. These were Scandinavians from eastern Sweden, and their first settlement was at Novgorod. By the

Beginnings in Rus

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rivers Dnieper and "Mother Volga" they could carry their wares to the Black and Caspian seas thence to be transported to Constantinople and Bagdad. These wares were skins, swords, and especially Slavs, or "slaves." Of the latter it is said that scarcely one in ten lived to reach the market. To secure protection from the slave raids many Slavs entered the services of the Rus. The traders usually went down the Dnieper to Kiev, where they secured canoes from the Slavs. Below Kiev waterfalls and rapids obstruct the river for a distance of many miles. As this was in the steppe country held by the nomads, who might attack them while carrying their canoes and cargoes around the obstruction, the Scandinavians were compelled to travel in one large fleet. Their destination was Cherson, the modern Sevastopol, a Byzantine outpost where they sold their wares to Greek merchants. Sometimes they went down the Volga to Itil, the modern Astrakhan, and then from the Caspian Sea on camels to Bagdad. It is said that there were one hundred thousand Scandinavians engaged in this traffic, but the number is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated. At all events, their strength was so great that some soon occupied Kiev, the most important Slav town. According to the *Chronicle of Nestor,* the oldest Russian chronicle, but posterior by two centuries to these events, the Slavs invited the Rus to come and be their rulers. This is possible; for, while the Slavs had many towns, there was no union among them and those at Kiev were exposed to attacks from the nomads of the steppes. The date generally given for the foundation of the Russian state is 862.

The Rus were not content to trade with the Greeks. True Northmen, they attempted several times to conquer Constantinople, the home of so many objects that they coveted. They were beaten off by the superior skill of the Greeks, and especially by the Greek fire; but the emperors were usually ready to make gifts of grain or money on condition that the Russians depart. Vladimir, ruler at Kiev, (972-1015), essayed an easier task and captured Cherson. If we can accept the Russian traditions, he did this because he wanted to be a Christian, but thought it more fitting to force the Greeks to baptize him than to request it. After capturing the city he demanded the emperor's sister Anne in marriage, although he is said already to have rivaled Solomon, having five wives and eight hundred concubines. If Anne was refused him he threatened to advance on Constantinople. The emperors felt it wise to comply with his request, but made a condition that he become baptized. He became a zealous convert. He ordered the national idols thrown into the Dnieper, and also compelled all the inhabitants of Kiev, regardless of age, sex, or rank, to strip

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Conversion of Russia

off their clothes and stand in the river, while the Greek priests on the banks read the baptismal service. Thus Russia became a Christian state. As she received her Christianity from Constantinople, she was untroubled by any of the conflicts between Church and state that were so common in the West. The liturgy was in the vernacular and not in Latin, the language of the learned; the churches were copied after models in the Byzantine empire, especially St. Sophia. The Russians received, too, the ecclesiastical music, a boon to a people passionately fond of music but wholly untrained.

The submission to the Rus and the conversion to Christianity were the two most important events in early Russian history. Kiev was the most important center of Russian power till 1169, and her ruler alone bore the title of Grand Prince. At first the rulers had body-guards of Northmen and introduced Scandinavian legal customs; the laws of Yaroslav the Great, successor of Vladimir, deal with ordeals, wager of law, wager of battle, wergeld, just as does any western code of the period. Gradually, however, the rulers turned to the Slavs for support and themselves became assimilated. German and Slavic customs agreed in dividing up the kingdom among the sons, and this custom had an even more fatal effect among the politically incapable Slavs than in the Carolingian empire. During the hundred and seventy years that intervened between the death of Yaroslav and the first appearance of the Tartars in Russia, it has been calculated that there were sixty-four different principalities, mostly ephemeral, two hundred and ninety-three princes or pretenders, eighty-three civil wars, and so many invasions that it is impossible to compute them.

Rulers at Kiev

In 1169 eleven of the other princes joined in attacking Kiev, which they sacked, not sparing even the churches. This was the end of the greatness of Kiev. Twice again it was sacked, but by nomads not Russians, in 1203 and 1240. A few years later Carpini reported: "It was formerly a great and populous city. Now scarcely two hundred houses are left, and the inhabitants are held in the most complete servitude." No other principality secured the supremacy. Novgorod, which still remained the most important center in the north, was a republic, and is said to have had one hundred thousand inhabitants and three hundred thousand subjects; it called itself "My Lord Novgorod the Great." The people of Novgorod elected a prince to rule over them, and, when they wished to, expelled him; but in spite of their independence and wealth they were so divided by factional strife that they allowed the Hanseatic League to take away the control over their own commerce from them, and the Knights of the Sword to con-

Lack of Union

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quer Livonia. A folk-song tells of the results of the latter: "The priests strangled us with their rosaries, the greedy knights plundered us, troops of brigands ravaged us, armed murderers cut us in pieces." Nowhere in Russia was there any care for the common good, any readiness to unite in defense against a common foe.

Rise of Poland

Little is known of the early history of Poland before 962. Then a strong king came to the throne, and three years later accepted the Christian faith under the guidance of Rome. Within two generations Poland had become the greatest of the Slav states, having conquered Bohemia, Moravia, Pomerania, Silesia, and part of Russia. The kingdom, however, was not organized to hold such an empire, as there was no fixed rule of succession and the kings treated the kingdom as if it were private property. The lay nobles were very independent and cared only for their own interests; the ecclesiastical nobles had won great authority and wealth and strove to make the Church entirely independent of the state. All the neighbors, Germany in particular, were hostile; the only support the king could count upon was from the pope, and his aid might be forfeited, as it sometimes was, by the misconduct of the king.

Poland in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Poland gradually lost most of her conquests, and was left, shut off from the sea-coast, without any natural boundaries to protect the country. Her nobles won greater power; the Church became more independent; there was no third estate, for the peasants were agriculturists and all the commerce was in the hands of foreigners who had been granted special privileges without any compensating duties. Jews had been admitted very early, but the most important colonies were composed of German artisans, who during the twelfth century came in in great numbers. Civilization advanced rapidly for a time; but, as it was not based on a strong social order, the gain was not permanent. In the thirteenth century Poland was as much divided as Russia, and from practically the same causes; for the rulers of the separate parts were ambitious but inefficient. Weak through lack of union for a common cause, they invited the Teutonic Knights to protect them from the attacks of the heathen Prussians, and granted these knights much land and many privileges. It has been well said that on the eve of the great disaster of the thirteenth century there was a Polish people but no Polish nation.

Bohemia

Bohemia was converted to Christianity early in the tenth century. After freeing herself from the power of Poland, in the eleventh century she became for a time the leading Slav power in the West. She came more fully under the German influence than

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Poland, and usually was compelled to acknowledge German overlordship, as her first king had obtained his title from Henry IV, in 1086. In the twelfth century Bohemia welcomed German colonists and shared in the advanced German civilization. It was in the thirteenth century, however, that she attained her greatest power. This was due mainly to three factors: first, the right of primogeniture was established and thus disputes about succession to the throne were avoided; second, the rulers invited German immigration on a large scale to develop their mines and build up their commerce; third, and most important, the rulers very shrewdly exploited the troubled conditions in Germany. They aided the pope against the Hohenstaufens and utilized the interregnum to build up a strong power. In 1273 Bohemia's territory extended to the Adriatic, and all eastern Germany looked to her for protection. Five years later she was crushed by a combined attack from the Magyars and the newly elected emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg.

Magyars

When the Magyars entered Hungary they are said to have numbered two hundred and sixteen thousand men. Probably there were relatively few women and children, as the Magyars had been driven out from their former homes by other nomads, and under such circumstances the victors usually appropriated the women. When they first entered Europe they were described as ugly and repulsive; their development into the notably handsome people of to-day is due to their breeding with the women of subject or neighbor races. They retained their nomadic habits in part for several centuries; and even in the twelfth century they lived in tents in summer. They long continued their raids upon Germany, even after the battle of the Lech.[1] About the year 1000, however, King Stephen made Christianity the national faith, and thus brought Hungary into close association with the Roman Church, which gave to him the title "Apostolic Majesty." This conversion opened again the old land route, the so-called "road of Charles the Great," to the Holy Land. Stephen was a great organizer, and made a nation of the Hungarians, establishing common laws and a firm administration for all the people.

Apogee of Hungary

For two generations the kings were not able to carry on Stephen's work, and the king of Hungary was for a time a vassal of Henry III of Germany. From 1077 to 1114 two strong kings ruled and made Hungary a great power, adding to their territories Croatia, Dalmatia, and a part of Galicia, besides firmly incorporating Transylvania, which up to that time had been only

[1] See Chapter XIV.

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partially subject. The Magyars were brave and also much more "politically minded" than the Slavs, consequently they treated their subject peoples very fairly and won their allegiance. The laws were respected and public order well kept. Otto of Freising has a remarkable passage in which he describes their country as a paradise and the people as short, ugly, barbarous and ferocious in manners and speech. "All obey the princes so well," he says, "that in all the seventy or more counties two-thirds of all judicial fines are paid into his treasury"; "the king's will alone is held by all to be right." "When he summons them to war, no one dares to remain at home unless absolutely obliged to." The bishop is evidently contrasting conditions in Germany with those in Hungary.

Decadence of Hungary

Even while Otto was writing, conditions were changing in Hungary, where after 1114 monarchs of less ability inherited the throne and wasted the strength of the country in unsuccessful wars, waged to extend their own influence. They allowed the great nobles, both lay and ecclesiastic, to usurp the royal power, and finally agreed that the offices held from the crown should be hereditary. This aroused the lesser nobles, who suffered from the tyranny of the great nobles, and they compelled the king, in 1222, to grant the Golden Bull. This has often been compared to the Magna Carta, which in two of its clauses it resembles very closely. Enthusiasts have said that the Golden Bull established a constitutional monarchy, a responsible ministry, and an annual parliament that controlled taxation. If its terms had been enforced these results might have followed; but as a matter of fact the terms were not enforced until later centuries. The king, who had been attacked for his grants to foreigners, and the nobles, whose hereditary offices were threatened, were opposed to the petty nobles, and civil strife ensued. The people were practically powerless, as the merchants and artisans who dwelt in the cities were mainly foreigners and the agricultural peasants were very greatly oppressed. Hungary, like Russia and Poland, was weak and lacked union when it was confronted with the great Tartar invasion.

The Mongol Empire

At the close of the twelfth century an ambitious chief of one of the Mongol tribes, far in the east of Asia, was gradually extending his authority over the surrounding tribes. A contemporary Chinese author says that he was "a man of gigantic stature, with broad forehead and long beard, and remarkable for his bravery. As to his people, their faces are broad, flat and four-cornered, with prominent cheek-bones; their eyes have no upper eyelashes; they have very little hair in their beards

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and mustaches; their exterior is very repulsive." This leader was so successful that in 1206 he assumed the title of Genghis Khan, "inflexible emperor," and was recognized as the supreme chief of all the Mongol tribes. Ten years later he conquered Peking. Leaving subordinates to complete the conquest of China, he started westward to conquer other peoples.

At that time the Charismian Turks had control of all central Asia, but they were overcome by Genghis Khan in a single campaign. By 1225 Bokhara, Samarkand, Khiva, Farghana, and parts of Afghanistan, Persia, and Caucasia were conquered. In the meantime Genghis Khan had sent a detachment of twenty-five thousand men under two of his sons to pursue the Charismian Turks. This band made a long excursion westward, probably to spy out the land. In three years they traversed Persia and Armenia, crossed the Caucasus, defeated the Russian army in the battle of Kalka (1223) near the sea of Azov, went on to the Dnieper, and then retraced their course. Genghis Khan now ruled over an enormous empire, which extended from China to the Caucasus and from the far north to the Himalaya Mountains. His conquests had been possible because of the nature of the country and of his subjects, who on their triumphant march took with them their flocks and all their possessions, for there was ample pasturage and the flocks furnished food. Their numbers were constantly swelled by the accession of new tribes of nomads. Genghis Khan was a very able ruler and administrator, and his authority was unquestioned as long as he lived. At his death in 1227 he left no successor competent to hold the empire together, and it had disintegrated before the thirteenth century ended.

Conquests

For a time the successors of Genghis Khan were busy in Asia, but in 1236 his grandson Batu began a new invasion of Europe. The Russian princes did not unite against the Mongols, and one after another was conquered. City after city was sacked and the inhabitants killed or carried away into slavery. If a city resisted, the Tartars carried out a policy of "frightfulness," torturing the inhabitants in divers ways before putting them to death. When they defeated an army, they cut off an ear from each of the dead foes and filled bags with these as trophies. After Russia had been completely overrun came the turn of Poland and Hungary; in neither country was any resistance made. The Tartars remained for some months in Hungary, which suffered terribly from their ravages and cruelty. They had advanced as far as the Adriatic when the news of the death of the "grand khan" caused Batu to return eastward.

Invasion of Europe

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The Golden Horde

The Tartars abandoned Poland and Hungary, but maintained their hold on Russia. The state that they established was called Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde, and included the region of the steppes and the lower valley of the Volga. From there they kept the Russians in bondage. Novgorod was the only important city that had not been conquered, and even Novgorod paid tribute. The Tartars did not attempt to administer the country, and allowed the Russians to keep their land, laws, and religion; but they did insist upon the payment of a heavy tribute, and sent officials throughout the various principalities to number the inhabitants so that they could collect the largest possible amount. The tax-gatherers used torture freely when the taxes were not paid promptly, and any rebellion was put down with the greatest severity. The clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church were the only ones who did not have to pay the poll tax, and this exemption was continued even after the Tartars became Mohammedans, in 1272. Russia remained under the Tartar rule for two centuries.

Scandinavia in the Eleventh Century

In the eleventh century the Scandinavian North played a great rôle in European history. The most important monarch was Canute the Great, whose empire included Denmark, England, Norway, the Orkneys and Hebrides, Iceland and Greenland; except for the German emperor, he was the greatest lay sovereign in western Europe. Mention has already been made of the exploits of other Northmen during this century: the conquest of England and of southern Italy and the founding of the Russian state. It was in the eleventh century, also, that the Northmen planted the colony of Vinland on the coast of North America, and at the other end of the known world threatened to capture Constantinople. In the Scandinavian lands the most important happening in this century was the introduction of the Christian faith. Denmark, because of its close association with Germany, had been partially Christianized before; but when Canute came to the throne he found half of his people still pagan. Before the century was over the Danes had accepted the Christian faith. The conversion of Norway was due mainly to King Olaf (1015–1028), who, killed in 1030 in an attempt to win back his kingdom from Canute, became the national saint. The faith was introduced in this same century in Sweden, but did not become fully established until the middle of the twelfth century. Many of the sagas were composed in the eleventh century, but they were not put into their final form until a century or two later.

The introduction of Christianity among the Scandinavians

Weakness in the Thirteenth Century

was not accomplished easily, because it necessitated social changes that ran counter to the customs of the people. It interfered with their freedom of marriage; it condemned the eating of horse-flesh, their favorite food. The Northmen objected to fasting, doing penance, and paying tithes for the support of the priests; and a strong pagan party was formed, especially in Sweden and Norway, which opposed the kings and the Church. In addition to the opposition from the pagans the spirit of independence and adventure was still rife and many resented a central government's restriction of their actions. Civil and foreign wars were frequent in Sweden and Norway, and neither was able to develop into a strong kingdom before the end of the thirteenth century. Denmark had been strong in the twelfth century and had conquered much of the Slavic lands along the Baltic — sometimes unaided, sometimes in association with the Germans. As she had a powerful fleet, she was a valuable ally, and several of the European monarchs, including Philip Augustus, married Danish princesses. In the thirteenth century, however, the king of Denmark was compelled to give up to Germany the Slavic lands that he had conquered, and Denmark ceased to be a powerful state.

Church and State

A survey of the conditions in Europe at the close of the period included in this volume shows that France and possibly Spain were the only countries in which the kings were prosperous and strong. The Byzantine empire and the Holy Roman Empire had lost their power. England, under Henry III, was torn by civil strife. Italy was divided into many political units, and the great cities, such as Venice and Genoa, were at strife with one another. The Slav and Scandinavian kingdoms were weak. All the European peoples had become Christians. The Church was powerful and wealthy, and the papacy had crushed the empire and become the overlord of kings. Its position and dominance, however, were threatened by the rise of the third estate, the growth of the national spirit, and the spread of criticism and skepticism. It still had many loyal and devout adherents, and a movement had begun in the thirteenth century which was destined to win new triumphs for Christianity and the Church. Just as the missionaries in the past had risked their lives to carry the faith to Celts, Germans, and Slavs, now other missionaries were invading Asia, visiting the Tartan hordes and the Chinese Empire, in their zeal to spread Christianity, and thus through their enterprise and devotion making new converts and bringing to Europe the knowledge of new lands.

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